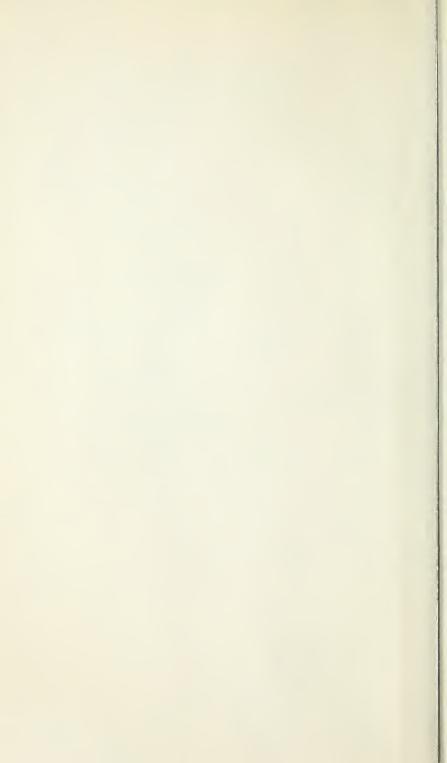
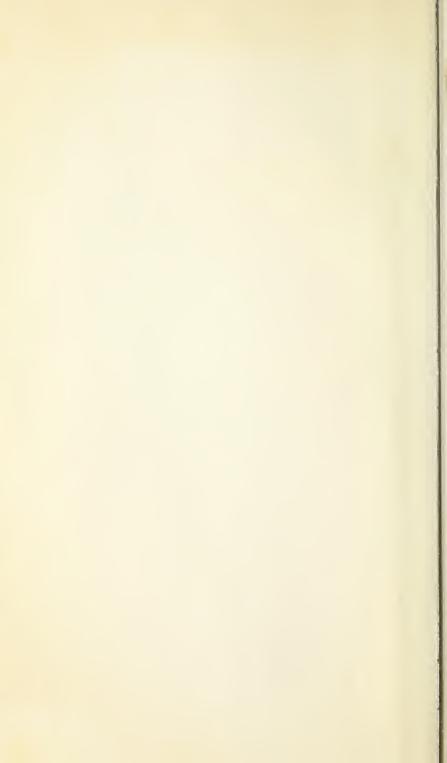
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ROWE VILLAGE IN 1899

Showing B. T. Henry's Store and Postoffice in right foreground, Town Hall beyond and old Satinet Factory beyond the Hall; Union Hall in middle foreground.

HISTORY

OF

ROWE, MASSACHUSETTS

PERCY WHITING BROWN

Member of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association
Member (President) of Concord Antiquarian Society
Member of Bostonian Society
Corresponding Member of Fitchburg Historical Society
Member of The Society for the Preservation of
New England Antiquities
Member of The Society of Mayflower Descendants

1921

bc 774.402 7786

Printed by Old Colony Press Boston

1207848

PREFATORY NOTE.

For many years the writer has had a great love for the Rowe hills, and in his many walks and drives has accumulated items of both historical and personal interest. The sight of an old cellar-hole* with its pink fire-weed and neighboring lilac bush has always held a solemn fascination, and has brought up pictures of a once happy family.

"Near yonder thorn, that lifts its head on high,
Where once the sign-post caught the passing eye,
Low lies that house where nut-brown draught inspired,
Where gray-beard mirth and smiling toil retired,
Where village statesmen talk'd with looks profound,
And news much older than their ale went round."

Then too, the roads became a subject for study; how the earliest highways were laid out in straight lines with little regard for hill summits, and how an early philosopher fetched a kettle to town meeting to prove that the distance around a hill was no greater than over it.

The interest of the village school teacher in Rowe's early history and her efforts to arouse the same interest in her pupils, have been the stimulus for setting down these items on paper, in the hope that thereby their love for their native town will be increased.

The author has drawn freely from the following sources:—

Rowe Town Records, 1785 — 1920 Massachusetts Archives, 1744 — 1785 Perry's Origins in Williamstown, 1894 Sheldon's History of Deerfield, 1895 Holland's History of Western Massachusetts, 1855

^{*} There are nearly 50 cellar-holes to be seen in Rowe.

Greenfield Gazette — Centennial Edition, 1892

Amid Rowe Hills, by Mrs. M. A. Smith, 1904

Baptist Church in Rowe (1810 — 1910) by Mrs. Lillian Cressy Peck

The Rise of the Tide of Life to New England Hilltops (N. E. Magazine, Aug. 1900) Edward P. Pressey

Green Leaves from Whitingham, Vt., by Clark Jillson, 1894

Barber's Historical Collections, 1839

Nason's Gazeteer of Massachusetts, 1874

Letters and Diary of John Rowe, 1759 — 1762, 1764 — 1779, edited by Anne Rowe Cunningham, 1903

Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. X Article by Edward Lillie Pierce

Correspondence of William Shirley Edited by Charles Henry Lincoln, 1912

Reminiscences of Rev. Preserved Smith of Warwick.
Privately printed, 1904

Journal of Gen. Rufus Putnam, 1757 — 1760 Reprinted in Albany, 1886

History of the Congregational Society in Rowe, by Deacon John Thomas, 1845

From the Hub to the Hudson, Washington Gladden, 1869

Wood's Turnpikes of New England, 1919

History and Proceedings of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

History of the Connecticut Valley, 1879 Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester

Farewell Sermon Preached at Rowe June 10, 1804 by Preserved Smith A. M.

"But whatever this History be, it aims at the Doing of Good, as well as the Telling of Truth; and if its Aim shall be attained, That will be a sufficient Reward for all the Trouble of Writing it."

Cotton Mather.

HISTORY OF ROWE, MASSACHUSETTS

CHAPTER I.

Topographical Description.

"For the Country it is as well watered as any land under the Sunne."

Wood's New England Prospect.

The territory that comprises the town of Rowe originally belonged to Hampshire County,* and so remained until 1811, when it was transferred to the County of Franklin, then incorporated. It is situated in the northwestern part, twenty-two miles from Greenfield, the County seat.

The land is distinctly rugged and mountainous. The Green Mountains of Vermont extend southerly into Massachusetts dividing into two parallel ridges called the Taconic and the Hoosac Mountains. The Taconic ridge divides the water-shed of the Housatonic from that of the Hudson, and the most conspicuous peak is Greylock. The Hoosac ridge divides the Connecticut water-shed from the waters of the Hoosac and Housatonic and the chief elevations are Spruce Hill in Adams and Clarksburg Mountain. The gneissic rocks of the Hoosac range extend to the east of Rowe and we may properly call the Rowe hills part of the Hoosac Mountains.

The territory purchased in 1762 by Rev. Cornelius Jones was in form a parallelogram of which the northern boundary formed the Province Line. The northern boundary of Massachusetts was stated to be "a curved line pursuing the course of the Merrimack River at

^{*}The western part of the unincorporated tract called Zoar was formerly in Berkshire County.

three miles distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due north of Pawtucket Falls (now Lowell), and a straight course drawn from thence due west." In 1741 Richard Hazen, a surveyor of Haverhill, ran the line; but the line "due west" was in fact about 1° 45' north of due west, so that about one-third of the present township of Rowe would otherwise have fallen to New Hampshire and later to Vermont. This is still called "Hazen's Line." The western boundary of this parallelogram included a fourth part of the present town of Monroe, or some 1500 acres, approximately the territory between the Deerfield River and a line drawn nearly north and south (S.2°E.) through a point about fifty rods east of Monroe Four Corners. The eastern boundary was two hundred rods west of the present one; while the southern boundary was at least three hundred rods north of the mouth of Steele Brook.

When the town was incorporated February 9, 1785, there were added two hundred rods on the east and south, and an irregular tract on the southwestern corner to include the Fulham Grant which roughly today represents the Veber and two Cressy farms. In 1838 (April 2) the unincorporated tract called Zoar was divided; the eastern portion was given to Charlemont and the western portion, from Florida Bridge around the Great Bend, to Rowe. In 1822 the portion west of the Deerfield River was set off as a part of the newly incorporated town of Monroe. (See Appendix A.)

The country at the time of the first clearing in 1744 was practically covered with primeval forests. Many of the old valley towns owe their beginnings to the absence of trees which resulted from the annual burnings by the Indians. But the savages seldom pene-

trated the upland forests of Rowe,* and the region was left to the haunts of wolves, bears, deer and smaller animals. A petition to the Legislature in March 1780 sets forth "that the inhabitants of the western counties were greatly distressed by reason of the destruction of the sheep and neat cattle by wolves, catamounts and wild cats, which are numerous in some parts of said counties."

MOUNTAINS.

Adams Mountain. At first called "the south mountain," and called Adams Mt. in 1797. This distinguishing feature of the town is in the southern part and rises to an altitude of 2140 feet above sea level. It heads a long ridge which culminates in Coon Hill, 1623 feet high, in Zoar. The Vermont line crosses Streeter Hill at an altitude of 2100 feet. The old road to Readsboro north from the old center of the town passes to the east of elevations 2,034, 1,967 and 1,937 feet respectively. Pulpit Rock, a colossal pulpit formed by the cleavage of a cliff, is 900 feet above the Deerfield River in the western part of the town and is flanked by elevations of 1806 feet and 1951 feet. The entire west slope is precipitous and was described in the crude map of 1779 as a "steep mountain." In only two places on this slope has the art of man been able to maintain roads; namely the road down to Monroe Bridge, and the road from the "Cressy Neighborhood" down to Hoosac Tunnel.

STREAMS AND MILL-SEATS.

Deerfield River. This chief tributary of the Connecticut River rises in southern Vermont, and enters Massachusetts in a southerly direction, then bears to

^{*}One or two arrow-heads have been ploughed up; and the writer has a stone knife, the gift of the finder, F. A. Browning.

the southwest forming the western boundary of Rowe. At the eastern portal of Hoosac Tunnel it makes a great bend to the southeast, forming the southern boundary of Rowe until it reaches the abutments of the old Florida Bridge. In 1886 James Ramage of Holyoke erected a dam at Monroe Bridge and built a plant for the manufacture of pulp and manila paper, used chiefly for boxes. Operations were begun December 9, 1887. A substantial brick plant now used as a warehouse is located on the Rowe side. In 1913 the property was sold to the New England Power Company and a long canal was built to convey the water of the Deerfield to a hydro-electric power plant three miles down the river on the Florida side. The pulp and paper plants were sold to W. G. Shortess of New York, a well-known paper manufacturer, and electric power is purchased of the New England Power System. In 1920 these plants were considerably enlarged at a cost of some \$250,000. In the early sixties the Deerfield was dammed a short distance above the Great Bend and a fall of thirty feet was obtained. Compressed air was thus supplied for the drills used in boring the Tunnel and was first brought into use in June 1866.

Pelham Brook. This considerable stream rises on the southwestern slopes of Streeter Hill, flows southerly for four and one-half miles to the confluence with the Deerfield at Zoar. Several brooks add to its volume, of which but one, Steele Brook bears a name. This stream rises in the western part of the town and takes a general southerly course meeting Pelham Brook at the southern boundary of Rowe. Other small tributaries rise in various parts of the town; one north of the road to Heath, another on the southern slope of Streeter Hill, another north of the old center, known locally as Langdon Brook, and others

from one to two miles west of the old center. The first mills in Rowe were on Pelham Brook which as early as 1773 was called Pelham Mill Brook. The map of 1793 shows a saw-mill above the bridge which crosses the brook a mile south of the old center, (near the present saw-mill), and a "corn mill" (grist mill) just below the bridge on the south side of the brook. Without question these were the first mills. The next mill was a saw-mill a little above the place where the brook is crossed by the road to Heath. Probably the fourth mill was the so-called Thomas Fellows mill on Pelham Brook, a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Steele Brook.* Fellows mill is mentioned as early as 1796. The saw-mill and grist mill by the bridge were owned by Moses Rogers as early as 1793. The present saw-mill which is rapidly disintegrating on the west side of the brook, was built by Ambrose Stone in 1835, and some of the first lumber turned out was used in building the satinet factory erected and operated by Solomon Amidon and Joseph Burton in 1836, later by the Franklin Manufacturing Company until 1848, a hundred rods to the north. Power for the latter was obtained from an overshot wheel, and the water was supplied by a long ditch or flume from the bed of the brook a few rods below the reservoir at the northwest base of Adams Mountain. S. P. Day in later years operated the factory in a small way. The old stone dam was blown up in 1879 to prevent taxes accruing on an unused water power, and in 1905-6 it was rebuilt by the Foliated Talc Company to supply a constant head of water for their mill a mile down stream near the village school. A carding machine and fulling mill was built in 1808 by Selah Munson below

^{*} According to the description of a road it would seem that the mill later owned by Rufus Hyde was once owned by Fellows.

the Nims-Hawks-Darling house, (called "Mr. Nims Fulling Mill" in 1810) and later another above the house of Mrs. Julia A. Browning. After 1812, Erastus and Moses Gleason enlarged the business of Ebenezer Nims, and added 60 spindles for the manufacture of satinets. The carding machinery was removed and the "clothing-works" carried on by Solomon Amidon and Moses Gleason, who then moved upstream. A sawmill* once stood below Charles King's, which was owned by Rufus Hyde who lost his life in the flood of 1869. Favette Snow in more recent years had a wheelwright shop just below the talc mill. The old Rogers grist mill below the blacksmith shop bridge was probably rebuilt "prior to 1825 by Thomas Brothers, and later sold to Abijah Burnap." Elijah Carpenter bought it about 1870 and added machinery for making Venetian blinds and chair stock. The mill was burned March 10, 1875. A tannery was operated for a number of years by Alfred Olds, Pliny and Joel Wells, Hitchcock & Maxwell and later by Thomas Scott and Sons, at the foot of Mrs. Julia Browning's hill. Below this was a currier shop, and a shop for making boots and shoes. A shop for making planes and other bench tools still stands on the "pond road," and Horace Browning, the owner obtained power from the water in the flume leading to the satinet factory. Rev. Arad Hall had a shop in the southwest part of the town for making rakes, and later another shop with a modern water power by the bridge a little below the Miller-Ayers house. The brook has been known locally as Hall Brook and Shovel Handle Brook. At the foot of Tuttle's Flats, a mile above the present town centre, are the remains of an old stone dam and millsite. A tannery and potash works were once located at the old

^{*} See Note on Page 5.

centre. S. Nash operated this tannery before 1800, and was succeeded by Asa Foster 2nd, Enos Adams, Alfred Olds, and Thomas Harrington.

MINES AND MINERALS.

The so-called Rowe serpentine enters the town from Vermont at the northeast corner and extends southwest across the town as a heavy bed, ten to twenty rods A few rods northwesterly of Abbott White's house it bends a little and takes the same course as the Deerfield River to the west, forming the crest of a ridge. In the Cressy neighbourhood it crosses the road and runs down to Hoosac Tunnel where it changes suddenly entirely into serpentine and steatite. At the old King place nearly one mile east of the Tunnel we find a large bed of serpentine with dolomite. It is compact, even grained and in color dark gray with traces of green on the fractured or sawed surfaces. A considerable amount has been taken out of this bed for soapstone stoves and bed-warmers. On Abbott White's farm the Massachusetts Talc Company for a number of years mined talc. The rock was carted to the company's grinding mill at Zoar which burned under peculiar circumstances a few years ago. The Foliated Talc Company was incorporated in 1905 and operates a talc mine on the old Bullard farm, a half-mile north of the old centre. The rock is carted to the grinding mill opposite the village school. Water power is supplied by a long metal flume from the pond connected with the village saw-mill, which in turn is supplied by Pelham Brook and the reservoir formerly supplying the old satinet factory.

Knowledge of the existence of pyrite containing iron and sulphur on the Brown farm east of Adams Mountain, was known as early as 1840. H. J. Davis secured

control and operated a mine from 1882 to 1910. Daily shipments at one time reached 150 tons; and before the mine was shut down, copper became an important byproduct. The chief mineral was a mass of almost pure, coarse-granular, shining yellow pyrite, with some chalcopyrite, blende, garnets and galenite.

About one and one-half miles west of the Davis Mine, George H. Davenport operated on a small copper vein for a few years. It was traceable for 700 feet conforming closely with the Savoy schist in which it occurs. The mine was abandoned after a few years, and the stockholders of the New England Mining Company, incorporated in 1902, have only pretty paper certificates and title to a few acres of land.

CHAPTER II.

Rowe in King George's War.

"It is open war with us and a dark and distressing scene opening."

Col. Israel Williams.

Our narrative opens with the year 1744, when war broke out between France and England, and our grandfathers knew only too well that this European quarrel meant trouble for them on the exposed fron-June 8th a scout was sent from Deerfield to Hoosac Mountain. They returned three days later with the report of having seen the trail of some forty Indians at the head of the west branch of North River (probably in what is now North Heath), which they followed for some distance. We infer that this scouting party must have passed through Rowe which lies midway between Hoosac Mountain and North Heath. Sheldon records that another scout sent out from Deerfield June 13th, returned two days later and "reported having seen on the Deerfield river, about eight miles above Rice's settlement at Charlemont, (near the present Hoosac Tunnel station), a place where three men had made a fire and camped, and saw two coats made Indian fashion hanging up to dry."

Deerfield now was no longer a frontier post. Tiny settlements had been established "on the Charlemont," at Colrain, Fall-Town (now Bernardston), Vernon and Charlestown, N. H. The Indians had been trading and mingling with the settlers, but at the outbreak of War, they returned to their tribes to prepare for trouble. In Queen Anne's War, (1703-1713), the route of the French invasions from Canada to the Connecticut Valley had been via Lake Champlain and thence over the Green Mountains. One was by the

Winooski River and down the White; another up Otter Creek and down the Black, Williams or West Rivers; and a third, up Wood Creek, Paulet and Indian Rivers to the Hoosick Valley and over Hoosac Mountain to the valley of the Deerfield.

To guard against these lines of approach, the Massachusetts General Court, in the summer of 1744, ordered the erection of a cordon of forts to run from Fort Dummer (built in 1724 in the present Town of Brattleboro), westerly to the New York line. Governor Shirley appointed a committee of three to build these forts, of whom the Chairman was Colonel John Stoddard of Northampton.

July 20, 1744 Stoddard wrote a letter to Captain William Williams his nephew, which reads as follows:

"Sir you are hereby Directed as soon as may be to Erect a fort of the Dimensions above mentioned, and you are to employ ye soldiers under your Command, viz such of them as are effective men and to allow them by ye day in manner as above expressed and in case your soldiers chuse rather to undertake to build sd fort for sum in Gross or by ye Great you may promise them Two Hundred pounds old Tenor Exclusive of the Nails that may be necessary the fort is to be erected about five miles from Hugh Morrison's house in Colrain in or near the line run last week Under the Direction of Col° Tim° Dwight by our order and you are hereby further directed as you may have Opportunity to Search out some Convenient places where two or three other forts may be Erected Each to be about five miles and a Half Distance upon the line run Last week as above mentioned or the pricked line on the platt made by Col° Dwight you will have with you.

"and further you are to order a sufficient Guard out of the men under your Command to guard such persons as may be Employed in erecting sd fort and further you have liberty to Exchange of the men under your command for those that are und the Command of Capt. Elijah in case there be any such that will be proper to be Employed in building sd fort you will take care that the men be faithful in their business, they must be watchful and prudent for

their own safety.

"There must be good account kept of the various Services in case men work by the day.

John Stoddard.

To Capt. William Williams

Northampton, July 20, 1744."

Accompanying this letter was a certificate approving the erection of a line of forts "from Colrain to the Dutch Settlements," with the signatures of the Committee, — John Stoddard, Ol. Partridge, and John Leonard. At the top of the letter is a memorandum:—

"The fort 60 feet Square Houses 11 feet wide Mounts 12 feet Square 7 feet high 12 feet High the fort roof of ye Houses to be shingled the Soldiers Employed to be allowed the Carpenter nine shillings others six shillings a day Old Tenor".

Such were the instructions for the erection of Forts Shirley in Heath, Pelham in Rowe, and Massachusetts in Williamstown, and the crude dimensions for Shirley. Colonel Dwight, the father of President Dwight of Yale College, in July 1744, had surveyed the line parallel to Hazen's Province Line at two miles' distance, on which two of the forts, Shirley and Pelham, were to be located. Fort Shirley was completed in short order, for Stoddard began billetting himself in the fort beginning October 30, 1744. The next we hear of Fort Pelham is the following March in a letter from the Stoddard Committee:—

"Northampton, March 6, 1745

To Capt. William Williams of Fort Shirley

Sir you are hereby fully authorised and Impowered In ten days after this Date to employ so many of the soldiers under your Command as you Judge necessary In finishing a fort in the place where the Com^{tee} for Building a Line of Block Houses &c agreed with Capt. Moses Rice to Build one and employ for that purpose the Timbers the sd Rice had drawn together (the sd Rice having Desired sd Timber may be employed for that purpose) you are to allow to a Carpenter Nine Shillings and other Effective men Six Shillings a Day Old Tenor you are to finish sd fort with all convenient speed provided the sd Rice do not within sd ten days take effectual care to your Satisfaction that he will finish it.

John Stoddard."

Apparently Stoddard had bargained with Rice for the erection of some sort of a fort on the hill-tops of Rowe. Moses Rice had come from Rutland to be the first settler in Charlemont. He built his first cabin in the spring of 1743 near a buttonwood tree that is still standing a few rods from the Charlemont bridge. In June 1755, twelve years later Captain Rice was killed and scalped by Indians and his remains buried nearby. The grave is marked by a small monument which was dedicated in 1871.

Fort Pelham was erected on a slight swell of ground a scant half mile southeast of the old centre of Rowe. The site is now an open pasture on the farm of Edward Wright. Perry describes it as a "stockade twelve rods by twenty-four, probably enclosing nothing but a well and a small magazine, and a covered lodging-place for the garrison in one or more of the interior angles. There was certainly a mount at Pelham, in all likelihood upon the northwest corner, and under this would naturally and cheaply be the quarters for the soldiers".

Perry's conclusions were: (1) That Pelham was a purely palisaded fort constructed of upright posts or forest staddles sunk into the ground and bound together in contact with each other above, and not like Fort Shirley and the two bearing in succession on the same site (between North Adams and Williamstown) the name "Massachusetts", a jointed blockhouse of hewn timbers; (2) that it was in form a parallelogram

twelve rods by twenty-four in extent, thus enclosing more than an acre and a half of dry ground on the swell of a broad hill; (3) that a trench, perhaps a foot deep, was dug around the four sides, and posts of a pretty uniform size (perhaps hewed) were set upright into the trench, unless natural trees of the right dimensions were already growing in line, and then the earth thrown back into the trench and upon both sides of the staddles, which now (1894) forms the pillow of turf that can be traced almost unbroken, particularly on the south and east sides; (4) that the well of the old fort was near the middle of the enclosure and upon the highest ground within it, and that the removal of four or five large stones that now choke the opening would practically restore the digging of 1745, and discover with certainty whether it were originally walled up within or constructed with corner-posts like the corresponding well at Shirley; (5) that the considerable circular depression a little northwest of the old well either indicated that the magazine of the fort was in part, at least, a substructure, or that the beginning of an unfinished well there was thwarted by a ledge, and a thorough excavation at that point might reveal which of the two, and possibly a stone floor or some remains of side walls; (6) that the main opening into the parade of the fort was, undoubtedly, on the north side, along which, at some distance further north, on account of the head of a swamp in the direct line east and west, the military road from Fort Shirley certainly passed in a northerly curve to the west, the straight west line being resumed about half a mile further on; (7) that the fort was placed where it was by the rude engineers of the time near the head waters of what came in consequence to be called Pelham Brook, in order to guard against access to the Deerfield by means

of one of its many tributaries by parties of French and Indians coming from the north with hostile intent; (8) that the mount (or mounts) of the fort gave to the sentinel a wide survey of glorious mountain scenery in every direction, and that to the west Greylock itself, then as now, towered with bended arch above the long range of the Hoosacs; and (9) that the barracks of the men posted at Fort Pelham, of whom twenty was about the complement during King George's War, were within the pickets and probably at the corners in connection with the mount or mounts, although, naturally enough, there are no such remains of chimneys and ovens and bricks there as fairly clutter the ground at Fort Shirley.

We have seen that Capt. Moses Rice of Charlemont had agreed to build the fort. But Stoddard's letter of March 6, 1745 authorizes Williams to finish the fort and in so doing to "employ so many of the soldiers" under his command as were necessary and to "employ for that purpose the Timbers the sd Rice had drawn together." Williams was further instructed to "finish sd fort with all convenient speed ", " provided the sd Rice do not within sd ten days take effectual care to your satisfaction that he will finish it ". This letter reveals a delay in constructing the fort on the part of Rice, but history does not tell us whether it was Rice or the soldiers under Captain William Williams at Fort Shirley, who finished the work. Perry holds to the latter theory. An interesting question, however, presents itself. By March 6, 1745, the date of the letter, the fort had been partly constructed. The frost could hardly have been out of the ground so early in the year, and we are left to speculate as to whether the work was started in 1745 or in the fall of 1744.

Now Dr. Perry tells us that there is little doubt that the old military road continued west from Fort Pelham in Dwight's line and passing Pulpit Rock to the right followed the present road southwesterly to the Deerfield at Hoosac Tunnel station. After a careful search of all available sources the writer is forced to disagree with this contention, and submits the following argument: - Dr. Perry's only authority cited is Colonel Stoddard's order to Captain Williams in 1744, "and you are hereby further directed as you may have Opportunity to Search out some Convenient places where two or three other forts may be Erected Each to be about five miles and a Half Distance upon the line run the Last week as above mentioned or the pricked line on the platt made by Colo Dwight who platt you will have with you." Nowhere is there any record of the building of any road or the blazing of any trail west of Fort Pelham. No fort was ever constructed five and a half miles west of Pelham which would be on the heights of Florida and Monroe, and the third fort in the cordon was Massachusetts, built the same year (1745) in the town-ship of North Adams some fifteen miles southwest of Pelham. The steep slopes in the western part of Rowe and west of the Deerfield would discourage any surveyor from laying out a trail to be travelled by pack horses. The topography of Rowe one to two miles west of Pelham is such that any engineer would draw a fairly straight line in a southwesterly direction and not a line due west forming a right angle with another due south. It was the custom for New England towns to build two intersecting main roads, one north and south and the other east and west. The town of Rowe in 1786, forty-one years later voted to establish the road four rods wide, west of Fort Pelham site, to the "west line of Lieut. Abner Chapin's

farme '' where it stopped; and the town at the same time voted to establish a road two rods wide from William Steel's northeast corner (near Steele Brook) to the southeast corner of Abner Chapin's meeting the four-rod "main road leading east and west through the Town". The road from the Cressy Neighborhood down to the Tunnel was first used in the 1860's and became a public road some 20 years later. The map of 1793 shows five roads, the east road to Heath, north road to Whitingham over Streeter Hill, north road from the old center past the Robert Wells farm to Readsborough, south road to Charlemont over the mountain, and the southwest road to Zoar. The west roads are omitted as they but connected outlying farms and led to no town.

When Capt. Moses Rice agreed to draw the timber for Fort Pelham, there must have been some kind of trail from his cabin to the fort site. Furthermore, the ancient Mohawk Trail crossed the Deerfield a mile and a half above Rice's, ascended the heights on the southerly slopes of Todd Mountain and crossed Hoosac Mountain in a northwesterly direction. This was used by the early settlers with their pack horses and cattle. Finally, we have the diary of John Norton, the chaplain appointed to these forts in 1745.

"Thursday, August 14, 1746.—I left Fort Shirley in company with Dr. Williams, and about fourteen of the soldiers; we went to Pelham fort, and from thence to Capt. Rice's, where we lodged that night. Friday, the 15th, we went from thence to Fort Massachusetts, where I designed to have tarried about a month."

Rice's homestead was about midway between Deerfield and Fort Massachusetts and the valiant captain was so often forced to act as host to travellers that he petitioned the General Court for assistance.

The old road from Isaiah Adams' above Rogers mills southerly over Adams Mountain has long since been closed (1837) to all but a stray traveler, but is still known locally as Norton's Trail. This was the military road.

John Norton was born in Berlin, Connecticut, in 1716, was graduated at Yale College in 1737, was ordained in 1741 in Deerfield to be the minister of Falltown (Bernardston), and was appointed chaplain of the forts in 1745. He began his new duties in February 1746. August 1, 1746 he came from Shirley to Pelham and continued on to Rice's. The following day he arrived at Massachusetts intending to stay a month. But on August 20 the Fort surrendered to 800 French and Indians under Vandreuil and the 20 inmates were carried captives to Canada. In this seige which lasted 24 hours, the Chaplain shared the honors with Sergeant John Hawks, the gallant commander, and this fight forms one of the most brilliant pages in American History. He returned to Boston August 16, 1747 and took his family to Springfield. In November 1748 he settled in the ministry at East Hampton, Connecticut, where he died in 1778. For many years there stood in Shirley field a rude headstone with the following inscription -

Here lys ye body of Anna D: of ye Rev.
Mr. John Norton. She died Aug. ye — aged — 1747.

It requires but small imagination to picture the hardships of life in Shirley Fort and the desolation felt by the young wife and children during the chaplain's captivity of one year. His place as chaplain for the line of forts was never filled.

In his diary, Norton states that he travelled from Fort Shirley to Pelham and thence to Massachusetts by way of Rice's, in company with Dr. Williams and about fourteen soldiers. This Dr. Williams was Thomas Williams, half brother of Captain Ephraim Williams, and was born in Newton in 1718, which would make him 28 years of age at this time. He was the surgeon for the line of forts, having become such probably when John Norton was made the chaplain and Ephraim Williams the captain. Dr. Williams arrived at Fort Massachusetts August 15, 1746 with Norton and fourteen soldiers, but left the fort the following day for Deerfield "with fourteen men", and so escaped capture when Fort Massachusetts surrendered.

Captain Ephraim Williams, later the founder of Williams College, was in full command of the line of forts, twelve in all, including Deerfield, from June 9, 1745 to December 10, 1746.

The war continued in a desultory way in various parts of New England. In 1748 various moves were made by the authorities at Boston which indicates their determination to make that year a decisive one. Fort Massachusetts and No. 4 (Charlestown, N. H.) were made the important centers probably to the neglect of the Shirley and Pelham forts. The Hobbs fight (12 miles west from Fort Dummer) took place in June 1748, and another attack by the French and Indians on Fort Massachusetts in August, this time proving unsuccessful. Captain Ephraim Williams had only shortly before changed his headquarters from Shirley to Fort Massachusetts.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed October 18, 1748 which terminated the hostilities between England and France. Nevertheless, the New England frontiers remained in a state of semi-hostilities until the outbreak of the next war in 1754. All the garrisons, how-

ever, were reduced and Shirley and Pelham became relatively unimportant as outposts.

Capt. Ephraim Williams remained in command of the new Fort Massachusetts, rebuilt in 1747; but thereafter, the line of forts to the eastward was under a separate command. Capt. Israel Williams, half-cousin of Ephraim and nephew of Col. John Stoddard, in 1748 was given command of the forts with headquarters at Shirley. He then had 36 men at Shirley,* 30 at Pelham, 25 at Morrison's Fort in Colrain, 16 at South Fort in Colrain, and 12 at New Hampton and Blandford. Lieut. Samuel Childs commanded at Fort Pelham, with John Foster as Sergeant and Samuel Barnard as Clerk. Sheldon quotes a tradition to the effect that Joshua Hawks' son Jared Hawks, was born at the Fort March 27, 1752, perhaps the first baby within the present limits of Rowe. Following is the list of men at Fort Pelham in 1748:

Lieut. Samuel Childs, Deerfield Clerk Samuel Barnard, Sergt. John Foster, Centl. Moses Copley, Daniel Warner, Joel Kent, Joseph Ball, jun, Moses Wright, Josiah Burnham, Archalaus Beadeau. Ezekiel Foster, Jacob Foster, Joshua Wells, Jonathan Evans. Joshua Hawks,

44 Suffield Deerfield Weston Deerfield Somers Deerfield

Joseph Bucknan, Aaron Rice, Ebenezer Altbee, Joseph Gould, Elias Witt, " Josiah Child, Springfield Samuel Allen, Northfield John Post, Aaron Graves, John Bagg, Jthamar Healey, Samuel Abbott, Josiah Walker, Ralph Wardell, Samuel Ball,

Oxford Rutland Holliston Hopkinton Marlborough Grafton Kingston Brimfield

Springfield Rehoboth Lamktown Westborough Longmeadow Springfield

The muster roll of the garrison at Fort Massachusetts extending from December 11, 1749 to June 3, 1750, gives twenty-one men to Fort Massachusetts, five expressly to Fort Shirley, and five, apparently, to Fort Pelham, although, as Perry points out, the official

^{*} Cf. Letter from Col. Stoddard to Gov. Shirley, March 1, 1748.

indorsement mentions only "Eph^m Williams and Co. at Fort Massachusetts." The five apparently given to Fort Pelham are

Joseph Allen, Sergant Joshua Hawks, Cent. Joshua Wells, Cent. Daniel Donnilson, Cent. William Stevens, Cent.

On November 1, 1748 Capt. Williams had 88 at Shirley, Pelham and Colrain, but then dismissed 35, retaining 53 men until April 3, 1749. Lieut. William Lyman in his return gives 26 as the number in the entire line of forts, from June 1749 to January 1750.

On June 13, 1754 Governor Shirley sent a message to the House of Representatives which contains the following:—

"Upon this Occasion I must put you in mind of the hazardous condition Fort Pelham and Fort Shirley are now in, if there should be any sudden Assault from the Indians on that Frontier; we must expect that the thing they will do would be to burn those forts, which they might easily do in their present Circumstances. Therefore I must recommend it to you, that provision be made that some better care may be taken for preserving them".

Israel Williams, now Colonel in command of the northern regiment in Hampshire County, was entrusted with the defence of the northwestern frontier. He drew a sketch of the region for Governor Shirley, to whom he recommended the abandonment of Pelham and Shirley Forts, and the establishment of forts in the valley on the north side of Deerfield River, Taylor Fort at East Charlemont enclosing the houses of Othniel and Jonathan Taylor, the same arrangement in the western part of Charlemont, at the houses of Gershom and Seth Hawks. The General Court accepted these plans, and Rowe and Heath again became a wilderness.

Two interesting letters addressed to Othniel Taylor at Charlemont may here be inserted as showing the service of scouts in and about Rowe.

Colrain, May the 18, 1758.

Sr I have ordered the scout from this place to go once in a week to Deerfield River about 8 miles above the province Line, and fall town (Bernardston) Scout to strike the North River 6 miles above us, and direct you to send your Scout once a week to Deerfield River at the province line. we have no news, but all well.

I am your sevent, John Catlin.

Colrain, May the 30, 1758.

Sr Last Sunday night I rec'd an account from Sergt. Hawks that his Scout had made Some discovery of an Enemy not far from pelham fort. These are therefore to direct you to tack one man from your fort with you and go to Rice's, and tack two men there to Hawks' and tack Samuel Morrison with one man, five in whole, and go to the place where they took their start, and make a thourer Search, and if you make no discovery then carry the Scout as hy up as the province Line, and make return to me.

Your Sevnt, John Catlin.

The following letter from Governor Shirley to John Stoddard, dated April 10, 1747, is especially interesting in showing the continued plan to build a fort west of Pelham. The letter is so full of interest that we give it in full.

"The General Court having come to a Resolution respecting the Defence of the Frontiers, and provided for erecting a Number of Blockhouses, particularly one at or near the Place where Massachusetts Fort stood, another to the Westward of Fort Pelham, and third between Colerain and Fall Town, (for the building of which you have my order herewith enclosed), and having voted Pay and Subsistence to the Garrisons to be placed in such Blockhouses, and the Soldiers to be posted in other Places particularly mention'd, I shall give Orders to Brigadier Dwight to draw out of his Regimt so many Men as with those now in the Service in the County of Hampshire will make up the full number

allowed on this Establishmt for Garrison Soldiers; And I desire that you and he would agree upon the Distribution of them accordingly, viz Twenty Men for a Garrison at Northfield, and as many at Colerain, Thirty at the new Massachusetts Fort. At Fort Shirley, Fort Pelham, the Blockhouse at Fall Town, the Blockhouses to be built one between Colerain and Pelham and the other to the Westward of Fort Pelham twenty Men each. And you must give Orders to the Commanding Officers of the several Forts and Blockhouses that will be garrisoned by other Soldiers than those of Brigadier Dwight's Regiment (as I shall direct him to do respecting those Officers in the Service that are in his Regimt) to keep a constant Scout from one Blockhouse to another to give proper Advices and Signals of the Appearance of the Enemy, and to the Commanding Officers at Massachusetts Fort to keep out a Scout Westwards of said Fort, and all of them to keep Journals of their Proceedings and transmit them to you: You must put ten of the Inhabitants of Colerain and as many of the Inhabitants of Green River above Deerfield into the Pay of the Province.

Besides the Recruits you will have from Brigr Dwight for the Garrisons before mention'd, I shall order him to draw out a hundred Men for a Marching Company to scout on your Borders, and more especially for covering the Men that will be employed in building the new Blockhouses; In the disposition of which as well as in all matters relating to the Defence of your Frontier I shall order him to advise

with you from time to time.

I am

Sir,

Your most Assur'd Friend and Servant W. Shirley."

Colo John Stoddard

Col. Israel Williams under date of September 12, 1754 wrote to Governor Shirley in part as follows:

"I conclude by this time you are fully inform'd of the hostil attacks of the Indians, and the mischief done by them in our own Frontiers and the neighboring Governments—It is now open war with us, and a dark distressing scene opening

Herewith I send a plan of the Western Parts of this Province by which your Excellency will be able to form a judgment of our situation and whether what I am about to pro-

pose will serve the general Interest of the whole which is,— That there be a Garrison at Fall Town, another at Morrisons in Colrain, two at Charlemont, Massachusetts Fort and a garrison at Pontoosook. The people are preparing for their defence, as I suppose, and the charge of making those places sufficient will not as I apprehend be very great to the Government.

I propose that there be at least fifty men at Fort Massachusetts, thirty at Pontoosook, they to maintain a constant scout from Stockbridge thro the Western part of Framingham township, and the West Township at Hooseck to the said Fort and from thence to the top of Hoosack Mountain. That there be 14 men at Fall Town, 20 at Morrisons and 12 at each garrison at Charlemont, these to perform a constant scout from Connecticut River against Northfield to the top of Hooseck Mountain. These scouts thus performed will cross all the roads the Enemy ever travel to come within the aforesaid Line of Forts. There will doubtless be more wanted for the Protection of some places within the Line. However if the scouting be faithfully performed there will not, I apprehend, any considerable body of the enemy get within the Line aforesaid undiscovered and there will be a great restraint upon small parties who will be afear'd of being ensnar'd.

The reasons why I would neglect Shirley and Pelham Fort is because the Indians were scarce ever known the last war to come down Deerfield River, and that road is very bad and almost impassable. Shirley is rotten and if maintained must be rebuilt. That at Morrisons will answer as well and can be much easier supply'd. After all if our Government would build a Fort upon the top of Hooseck Mountain between Pelham and Fort Massachusetts it would shorten the scouting and answer as well the first proposed line thro Charlemont.''

Governor Shirley replied to this letter of Israel Williams in part as follows:—

"I am extremely well satisfied with the great care and vigilance you have already shew'd for the protection and safety of the people upon the Western Frontier . . .

The plan you sent hath been of great service for my information in the state of Western Frontier, and I much approve of the Line of Forts propos'd by you for the defence and protection of it, by marching parties or scouts.

So far as I could go in the execution of it before the meeting of the General Court, I have gone and propos'd to his Majesty's Council the augmentation of the Garrison of Fort Massachusetts with 25 men, and 30 men to be posted and employed in scouting as you shall think most for the protection of the frontier under your care, which you will find they have advis'd to, and you will raise the men accordingly.

When the General Court meets I shall endeavor to carry the remainder of your scheme into execution, and shall make the protection and defence of that part of the Province, in the most effectual manner in every respect, one of the principal objects of my attention."

CHAPTER III.

"The last Indian raid on the frontiers of Massachusetts was at Colrain March 21, 1759."

George Sheldon.

From 1754 to 1785.

Rufus Putnam was one of the heroes of the Revolutionary War, upon whose career the pen of the historian has touched too lightly. Overshadowed perhaps by his more picturesque cousin, Israel Putnam, Colonel Rufus Putnam was probably of greater value to the American cause; and as Washington's Chief of Engineers his service was incalculable. However, it is an event in his varied career which took place in the "Old French War" that concerns us now, as it touches upon Rowe.

Born in 1738, his boyhood was not different from that of other New England boys, learned in the art of hunting and woodcraft. When nearly sixteen, he was bound as an apprentice to the mill-wright trade under a brother-in-law at Brookfield. For the next three years he practiced his trade, and at the same time acquired a large brawny frame possessed of great muscular strength.

The war between England and France had broken out in 1754. The news of the battles, Braddock's defeat, the exploits of Israel Putnam, must have fired his youthful mind, for in his nineteenth year he enlisted as a private soldier in the Company of 100 under Capt. Ebenezer Learned. The term of service was to be from March 15, 1757 to February 2, 1758. The last of April 1757 the company left Brookfield for Kinderhook, N. Y., about eighteen miles below Albany. The rest of the campaign was spent in the Hudson Valley, mostly between Albany and Fort Edward. New Year's Day,

1758, found the company at Stillwater on the east side of the Hudson near the spot where the battle of Bemis Heights was later to decide the fate of Burgoyne. The men were eagerly awaiting Candlemas (February 2nd) when they would be released from servitude.

From the movements of Captain Skene, the Commander of the stockade garrison, they suspected that he intended to hold them in service beyond the limit of their enlistment. So they quietly made arrangements for their journey and constructed snow-shoes for each man. Capt. Learned then returned from a furlough; and when apprised of the plan, he consented to lead them. The 2nd of February came and Capt. Skene read an order from Gen. Abercrombie, directing him to persuade the Massachusetts men to remain a few days until he could hear from that Government. The men replied that he is a good soldier who serves his full time.

True to their purpose, about three o'clock in the morning of the 3rd they left the garrison, seventy in number under Capt. Learned. The distance to Hoosack Fort (in Williamstown) was 30 miles and was allotted for two days' march. The provisions had been saved from the daily rations for a week or so previous. The snow in the woods proved deeper than expected, while a snow storm on the second day bewildered the leaders. Three wild turkeys were killed which added a little to the scanty stock of provisions. On the fourth day they found that they had missed the way and had been following the wrong stream. This branch, it seems, led them into the New Hampshire grants where Bennington, Vermont is now located.

We now quote from Putnam's Journal which is deposited in the library of the college at Marietta, Ohio.

"Sundown we came upon the top of a very large mountain, (Woodford and Searsburg), which seemed to be the height of land, and now we were satisfied whereabouts we were. We judged ourselves to be 30 miles northwest of Hoosack. The weather was exceedingly cold, and the snow five feet deep and the provisions very short. February 7. This morning thirty of us made a good Breakfast of a small poor turkey without salt or bread; and now our provision was gone. In about 5 miles from where we Lodged, we came upon a Small Stream (near Heartwellville) descending toward the South East, at the seeing of which we were all very much rejoiced; there seemed to be a smiling countenance on all the Company, to think that we got on the Borders of New England. And on our way down this stream, there were several small streams come into it, so that it got to be a large River. This night we camped but felt exceeding faint for want of victuals, but yet our Courage held out. At present Courage was the only thing we had to support us, except it was Beech buds and some high swamp Cranberries.

"Feb. 8. This day we had exceeding bad travelling all day, and the River turned contrary to our expectations; so that we had but little hopes of getting into any Post these some days. It was now exceeding stormy weather and heavy travelling, only on the River (Deerfield) when the Ice would bear; and had we not had some relief by that means, we had all perished in the woods. About Sundown we came to camp and being exceeding faint, living without victuals some days and we having a large dog with us, we killed him and divided him among 70 men, giving every man his equal share. . .

"Feb. 9. This day we had better travelling on the River and it seemed to steer the way we wanted, (they had rounded the Great Bend at Hoosac Tunnel), and about noon we came to where some trees were cut for shingles, (probably near Hoosac Tunnel), and at night we came to where one of our men knew the ground, (Zoar where Pelham Brook meets the Deerfield), and told the Capt. we were within three miles of Hawk's Fort, on the Charlemont; notwithstanding the Capt. would not go on because a great part of the men had froze their feet, and were at least two miles behind. But we went to Camping, (on Zoar flats), and the Capt. and James Call, who knew the ground went down the river about a mile till the Capt. was Satisfied the man knew as much as he pretended, and then sent him on, and ordered

him to have a breakfast prepared in the morning; after which the Capt. returned back to us by which time those lame men came up, and as the Capt. came up to us, we were all very zealous to hear what news? But we soon learned by the Captain's countenance, before he got within some rods of us and as the Capt. came up to us, he said. Eat what you have to eat this night; for the promised land is just by. Some were for going on this night, but the Capt. told them; No, by no means, for it would hazard the lives of a great many. The news that the Capt. brought raised the Spirits of all the men, so that those whose Countenance looked sad, were brought to a very smiling Complection.

"Feb. 10. This morning we set out on our march, and about one mile from where we camped, we saw three men a-coming up the River which we were glad to see, and when they come to us, we found that one of them was the man we sent on the night before and he brought out some bread and meat boiled; which we reed. very Kindly, and about ten o'clock we came into Hawk's Fort on Charlemont, when we Refreshed ourselves until about noon; after which we marched to Rice's Fort about one mile, where twenty of us stayed, all which were lame by reason of their feet being froze on our march except Samuel Dexter, Lemuel Cobb, and myself. Through all this march I brought Ichabod Dexter's pack, because he froze his feet before we set out from Stillwater, and I tarried to help him along further."

The next day, twenty of the men including Putnam, continued to Taylor's Fort. Putnam then continued to Deerfield, Hadley, Greenwich, and arrived at his home in Brookfield, Feb. 15th.

PELHAM

The origin of the appellation of Pelham is of considerable interest to lovers of Rowe. We can do no better than quote Perry again.

"Henry Pelham was nobody in particular except the brother of the Duke of Newcastle, but he became a first lord of the British Treasury in 1743, and was virtually prime minister of England thereafter till his death in 1754, when William Pitt, whose gradual introduction into high public place by Pelham was the latter's greatest service to his country, stepped boldly though tentatively into the chief

control of affairs, and in five years put an end to French domination in America. The rustic Colonial politicians were wont to keep a sharp eye on the drift of things in England, and knew who the rising statesmen were over there whenever any such seemed to show up their heads. Besides this, it is said that Henry Pelham made a personal tour of Massachusetts a little before the outbreak of King George's War; and at any rate, the old county of Hampshire, for one or both of these reasons, exhibited to the world a township, a fort, and a mountain stream, all called after his name at just about the same time."

The tract comprising the town of Pelham was first sold to Colonel Stoddard of Northampton, and was known as Stoddard's Town. Later he sold it to some settlers from Worcester, and the name was changed to Pelham at the time of incorporation in 1742. Probably Col. Stoddard gave the same name to the fort in Rowe, for he was Chairman of the Committee in charge of the erection of the cordon of forts west of Colrain. He has been called "one of that great trio which had John Pynchon of Springfield for its first member, and Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield for its second, and which ruled or led Western Massachusetts through an entire century of its history."

FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

In February 1762 the Great and General Court of Massachusetts appointed a committee to sell "nine Townships and 10,000 acres of the Province Lands" in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire. In accordance with its instructions the committee, on June 2, 1762, held a public auction at the Royal Exchange Tavern in King Street, Boston; and the tenth parcel was bid in by one Cornelius Jones for 380 pounds. Apparently there was some competitive bidding, for the 10,000 acres had been "set up at three Hundred Pounds." The conditions of the sale were "that with-

in the space of five years there be residing on said Land twenty five Inhabitants, each to have a Dwelling-House of the Dimensions above mentioned, (24 feet long, 18 feet wide and 7 feet Studd), and each seven acres of Land well cleared and Fenced." See Appendix C.

Probably the same year, 1762, Rev. Cornelius Jones emigrated from Sandisfield in Berkshire where he had been the minister of the Congregational Church since its formation in 1756. The Sandisfield parish must have been small, for his ordination was held in a barn a year before the erection of a meetinghouse, and the congregation the first year totalled only fourteen. Holland states that Mr. Jones was dismissed from the Sandisfield Church in 1761. The craze for land which our forebears possessed it is hard for us to realize in these modern times when half the American people are classed as urban. At any rate we find the Reverend Mr. Jones acquiring title to a tract of land four miles square whither he moved his family comprising his wife, two daughters and several sons. The grant reads as follows: -

"A Tract of Land bounded North on the Province Line, East on Land belonging to Messrs. Green and Walker and Bulfinch, South partly on Charlemont, to extend West to make the Contents of Ten Thousand acres to Cornelius Jones for Three Hundred and eighty Pounds, and have received of him Ten Pounds, and taken his Bond, with John Chadwick for Three Hundred and seventy Pounds."

This act is dated June 11, 1762.

Holland tells us that "he erected a small house of split planks, and brought his family into the wilderness where there was not another house within six or seven miles," namely "on the Charlemont". To this tract he gave the name of Myrifield. The writer has always been skeptical of the story that this name was a corruption of My-rye-field, and believes this to be

but a pretty myth. Much more likely is it that Myrifield is a poetic spelling of Merryfield; and in fact the map of Green & Walker's Grant drawn in 1779, to show the tract of 7000 acres proposed to be added to Mr. Jones' original purchase, gives the spelling in two places, — Merryfield; while in an old Charlemont grant of 1774 the spelling is Murryfield.

The ninth of these ten parcels of land which were sold at auction in 1762 was incorporated three years later (1765) under the name of Murrayfield, in honor of William Murray, Lord Mansfield; and it continued under that name until 1783, when the name was changed to Chester. Is it possible that Murrayfield suggested to our early settlers the name of Merryfield, and that later this was modified to Myrifield, — phonetically somewhat similar but with a distinctly different spelling?

Mr. Jones is credited with having offered his lands at a low price, which induced others to come in and settle; among whom, Holland states were the following Worcester County men, — Jonathan Lamb, Artemas Ward, Michael Wilson, Nathan Howard, Gideon Chapin, Henry Gleason, Archibald and Joseph Thomas, Matthew Barr, John, Humphrey and William Taylor. Archibald Thomas came from Boston.

The first settlement in the neighboring town of Heath was made by Jonathan Taylor of Charlemont in 1765, three years after Mr. Jones came to Rowe. Holland is authority for the following story in regard to the two towns.

"About 1777 a long series of difficulties commenced between Rev. Mr. Leavitt (of Heath) and the people of Charlemont. Some thought Mr. Leavitt preached Arminianism. His political sentiments were generally disliked. He did not seem to share in his people's zeal for the Revolution. On one occasion, Rev. Mr. Jones of Rowe came to deal with Mr. Leavitt for his religious or political heresies. Mr. Jones, armed with a bayonet fastened to a rake's tail, marched at the head of his parishioners, who were also armed, but what success they met with does not appear."

Mr. Jones was a native of Bellingham and a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1752. His labors in Rowe will be taken up in a later chapter. In February 1779, he conveyed to William Parkhurst and Company, of Brookfield, all the lands he owned in Myrifield, some 10,000 acres, for the sum of £9,000 in continental money which was never redeemed. He removed to Whitehall, N. Y. where he died a poor man.

Meanwhile the plantation of Myrifield continued to grow. The eight families of 1770 had increased to 28 families by 1775. By 1784 there were 88 polls, of which 77 were "ratable."

Annual appropriations were made for the "Gospel Schools, Roads and other Necessary charges," and officers were chosen. It was a town in all but name only. The first petition for incorporation was presented to the General Court in September 1779. In September 1782 a committee of three, Joseph Nash, Archibald Thomas and Eldad Corbet, Petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation, the name to be changed to Exeter. No reason appears for the selection of this name. The petition came up for consideration the following month, but failed of passage. In September 1783, a year later, a longer and more detailed petition was submitted which reads as follows:—

"To The Honorable the Great and General Court or assembly of the Commonwealth of the Massachusetts."

The petition of the inhabitants of a Grant of land formerly made to Mr. Cornelius Jones of Ten Thousand acres called by the name of Myrifield in the County of Hampshire Humbly Shews that your petitioners have Repeated by Re-

quested incorporations into a Township together with some addition from other places Viz Beginning at the S. West Corner of the beforementioned Grant of land, thence Running South two hundred Rods to a Corner, thence Running East 6 Degrees South 1566 Rods to a Corner, thence North 1343 Rods to the New-State line including the abovementioned Grant, together with two Hundred Rods in width from the Town of Charlemont, with some Grants of land West of Charlemont on the South Side of sd Myrifield, also together with 200 Rods in Width, on the East end, from the lands called Green & Walkers — we would at this time Renew our Request that your Honours would Speedily Grant our Request for the privileges of an incorporated Township with the additions before mentioned by the name of Exeter and as this place has been looked upon to be cut in two by the county line crossing the same we Desire the whole be set to the County of Hampshire.

Furthermore as the Honorable Court Resolved an abatement of one third part of our Taxes in April 1780, and as it appeared Reasonable to the Committee of the Honorable House last year that the treasurer be Discharged of ye same &c we pray a final Determination may soon take place and as it appeared to the Honorable House last year that there was a mistake in one of the Requisitions for Beef sent to us, and as we had only a Receipt in part, yet it was Right to Discharge us of the whole Notwithstanding we find that we are Ranked with those places that are Delinquent in paying in their proportion. Our prayer is that your Honors would take these matters into your Consideration, that the whole of these affairs may soon be brought to a Conclusion.

We further (illegible) that as we have been under a Necessity for the Support of the Gospel, Schools, Roads and other Necessary charges, to grant money annually and chose officers to collect the same as in Duty Bound. In the Behalf of the inhabitants.

Myrifield Henry Willson
Sept. 12, 1783 Archibald Thomas
Benjⁿ Brown

Committee "

This petition came up for action a year later and was finally acted upon favorably in February 1785. It is written in a beautiful hand and with but one word misspelled. Perhaps the author was Archibald Thomas, who had been a deacon in a Boston church.

The eleventh hour petition (Feb. 1, 1785) of "Jonas Gleason Agent" that "the Land called Fulhams mite not be incorporated with sd Plantation save so much as will Lay it in a square forme," proved ineffectual.

Following is the act of incorporation which was passed by the General Court February 9, 1785.

- "An Act for incorporating a Grant of Land, formerly made to Mr. Cornelius Jones, of ten Thousand Acres, called by the name of Myrifield, in the County of Hampshire, together with other Lands adjoining, and the Inhabitants thereon, into a separate Town, by the name of Rowe.
- "Whereas a number of the inhabitants of the plantation called Myrifield in the county of Hampshire, have petitioned this Court to be incorporated into a Town, for reasons set forth in their petition, and it appearing to this court that it is expedient that the said plantation be incorporated:
- Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the lands hereafter described, viz - Beginning at the southwest corner of the beforementioned grant of land, thence running south two hundred rods to a corner, thence running east six degrees south, one thousand five hundred and sixty-six rods to a corner, thence north one thousand three hundred and forty-three rods to the line of a territory called Vermont, including the abovementioned grant, together with two hundred rods in width from the town of Charlemont, and from Pierce's, Dennis's, and the whole of Fulham's grant of land west of Charlemont, on the south side of the said Myrifield, also, together with two hundred rods in width on the east end from the land called Green and Walker's lands, together with the inhabitants, thereon, be, and they are hereby incorporated into a distinct town, by the name of Rowe, and invested with all the power, privileges and immunities, that towns in this Commonwealth are entitled to, or do or may enjoy according to law.
- Sect. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That Samuel Taylor, of Buckland, Esq. be, and he hereby is empowered to issue his warrant directed to some principal inhabitant within the said town of Rowe, directing him to warn the inhabitants of the said town qualified to vote in town affairs, to assemble at some convenient time

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and place in the same town, to choose all such town officers as by law are to be chosen annually, in the month of March.

Sect. 3. Provided nevertheless, The inhabitants of the said town of Rowe, which were before the passing of this Act inhabitants of any other town or place, shall pay their proportionable part of all such town, county and State taxes, as are already assessed or levied on them by the town or place where they usually were taxed.

Sect. 4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the whole and every part of the said town of Rowe be hereafter included within the county of Hampshire; and that the west bound thereof shall be the boundary line, between the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire."

Both petitions called for the name, — Exeter; yet the act established the name, — Rowe. No written evidence has ever been found to account for this change. Tradition says that it was made in honor of John Rowe, a well-known Boston merchant and man-of-affairs, and that he promised to give the town a bell. This plan was never carried out, perhaps because at that time there was no suitable place in which to hang the bell, and John Rowe died two years later. Certainly, there is no record today of the existence of such a bell.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY TOWN AFFAIRS.

"It is with young Colonies as it is with Trees newly planted; which those Winds as one faith, that are not so boisterous as to blow down, do so far Advantage as to shake them to a greater Fastness at the Root."

Hubbard's Indian Wars.

Pursuant to a warrant issued by Samuel Taylor of Buckland, the first town meeting was held March 30, 1785, at which the town officers were chosen as follows:—

Selectmen — Capt. William Taylor Isaac Langdon Moses Streeter Moderator — Capt. Benjamin Brown Town Clerk — Nathan Foster Archibald Thomas Constable — William Heartwell Tax Collector — Ass't Tax Collector — Michael Wilson Deacon Jonas Gleason Treasurer -Nathan Foster Assessors — Benjamin Brown Ambrose Potter Nathan Foster Wardens — Benjⁿ Shumway Tythingmen — Jude Foster Moses Streeter Highway Surveyors — Eldad Corbet Daniel Coone Capt. Matthew Barr Abner Chapin Ambrose Potter Capt. Matthew Barr John Merrill Sealer of Leather — Hogreaves — Daniel Gleason

Apparently it required a considerable length of time to choose these officers, for there was an adjourned meeting April 4, 1785 at "Landlord Potter's" when it was voted to raise £130 "to defray town charges,"

and £20, for "repairing highways," the first appropriation made by Rowe as a town.

The sum of twenty pounds for roads was found insufficient, and at another meeting Sept. 15, 1785 thirty pounds additional were granted. At the same time a committee of three was appointed "to build a Pound at the Northwest corner of the meetinghouse Lot 30 feet square with poles." The meetinghouse which will be discussed in a later chapter stood on the rocky knoll at the southwest corner of the intersection of the roads at the old centre.

The first State election in Rowe was held April 27, 1785 and the vote was as follows:—

| Governor | Lieut. Governor |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Thomas Cushing — 12 | Samuel Adams — 10 |
| Senators | |
| David Smead, Esq. — 28 | Hugh McClellan —23 |
| David Saxton Esq. — 24 | Hugh Maxwell Esq. — 6 |
| Daniel Whitmore — 21 | Samuel Taylor Esq. — 3 |

In 1791, Joseph Nash, who had been tax collector for a number of years and had been criticized for failing to collect Joseph Steel's taxes three years previous, was found short in his accounts. At a meeting in June 1791, the town voted to take no action in the proposal to "support Mr. Joseph Nash in Gaol," but two months later the town voted to take two notes of Zenas Nash (son of Joseph) with his uncle Benjamin Nash's endorsement "for the sum of the Deficiency of the State tax Joseph Nash had to collect one half to be paid in six months and the other half in twelve months — Said notes to be on interest and for cash." In case of failure to produce these notes by August 29th the town was to take land of Zenas Nash appraised by Col. White, Col. Maxwell and Rev. Mr. Leavitt, all three of Heath.

SHAYS' INSURRECTION.

In common with other towns, Rowe felt the pressure of the times immediately following the Revolutionary War. The drafts for men and money, the scarcity of money and its depreciation in value, the increase in debts, and the want of confidence in government, were "grievances" as they were then called. On August 22, 1786 conventions were held in the counties of Hampshire, Berkshire and Middlesex to "consult on matters of public grievance". About 1500 men had actually assembled under arms at Northampton and prevented the sitting of the court.

In December 1786, Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in a Massachusetts regiment, marched into Springfield at the head of 300 malcontents and seized the court-house. A month later, state troops put down the insurrection and Shays escaped to Vermont, receiving his pardon in 1788.

There is a tradition in Rowe that one of the Steels, for whom Steele Brook was named, was a sympathizer if not an active participator in this insurrection. At any rate the town on October 2, 1786 chose a Committee of Safety having five members, Deacon Jonas Gleason, Nathan Foster, Eldad Corbet, Joseph Nash and Nathaniel Morrill, "to inspect any Disorders that may arise in this Town in this Juncture of time in which civil law is so much Disturbed and to suppress Criminality as much as possible." At the same meeting the town voted "that Joseph Steel and James Trask criminals, be kept Prisoners in and on the cost of this Town untill the said Committee can consult with some other Town or Towns to know what further measures may be taken with them." The records reveal nothing further, but Pressey describes an old vellowed paper bearing the signature of William Steel

which was an "original Shays' Rebellion document." He states that Steel and eight other men of the locality were Shays' insurgents and that they surrendered to Col. Hugh Maxwell and received their arms again after taking the oath of allegiance at the hands of Squire Wells. From these threads Mr. Pressey weaves a pretty romance with the beautiful valley of upper Steele Brook as the scene, William Steel as Robin Hood, and Elder Carpenter, the first Baptist minister, as Friar Tuck. At that time Samuel Carpenter was a boy eleven years old and was living in Brattleboro. He did not come to Rowe until about 1806 or 1807.

ROADS

The earliest road in Rowe was without any doubt, a rough cart path or "bridle-way" over the mountain from Charlemont to Fort Pelham which bore the name of King's Highway and today is called Norton's Trail. Moses Rice of Charlemont, it will be remembered, hauled timbers for the construction of the fort. The second road was probably the road to Heath, following in general the trail between Pelham and Shirley. It is likely that at first the western terminus was at the house of Cornelius Jones on what is now called the "Old Ford Farm," and that as early as 1770 it was extended to the centre of the town. The old Heath road led straight on from Blakeslee's over the hill down to the Hamilton place.

The earliest road map of Rowe is that furnished to the state in 1793 by the selectmen. Two ruled parallel lines are drawn due north and south which bisect the paralellogram of Rowe. They cross Pelham Brook between the sawmill and "corn mill" of Moses Rogers. The lower section of this road is called the "south road to Charlemont" and the upper section

is called the "north road to Readsborough." Leaving the southern road just north of Rogers' mills and drawn with free hand parallel with the brook is the "southwest road to Zoar." In the exact centre on the west side of this main artery of travel is the meeting-house. The "east road to Heath," is placed on the map exactly as it is located today, but with its western terminus at the northeast corner of the meetinghouse lot,—namely at the centre of the town. However, from the centre to Tuttle's corner the road is drawn as a straight line, as it formerly went over rather than around the hill east of the Unitarian Meetinghouse. The "north road to Whitingham" leaving the Heath road at Tuttle's corner is drawn as a straight line.

At a town meeting March 13, 1786, the town "established" (accepted and perhaps improved) the "road from the top of the Mountain south of John Adamses to William Hartwells nearly as it now goes two rods wide." The town also voted

"to establish the main road through this Town east and west begins on the east line of the old Myrifield plot (200 rods west of present town line) at Capt. Benjin Browns southeast corner and David Weer's South east corner thence running westward between said lots sixty nine rods thence nearly south west eleven rods in David Weer's and fifty four rods in Lieut. Gideon Chapins land to a large rock and stones on it thence west 45 rods to the summit of a rise of ground on the west side of a small Brook (near the present East schoolhouse) to a pile of stones thence westerly 24 rods to the bridge over a large Brook (Pelham) near Gideon Chapins house (Kendrick-Tuttle place) and as it is now traveled to the sd house thence in a strait line to the south west corner of Aaron Gleason Junr farm and from thence proceeding as the road is now traveled to the meeting-house passing between Lieut. John Wells house and Barn (old Wells-Ford Farm) runs by the south side of Daniel Coons house and to the bridge North of the clay pitt thence on the north line of Dr. I. W. Claries (Clary) farm to the pint of a ledge of rocks leaving said ledge on the north side of said road and passing between Nathan Foster Jr. and Jude

Fosters Lots to the meetinghouse aforesaid from the meetinghouse southerly on a strait line to the southeast corner of Will^m Hartwell lot thence Westerly (opposite Edward Wright's) between sd Hartwells and Nathan Wheelers lots to the bridge near the southwest corner of said Hartwells lot thence running west about 10 D north as it is now traveled passing between Phinehas Woods and Michael Wilsons farms and on the north line of Nathaniel Morrills farm from thence between Benjⁿ Shumways (Abbott White's) and Jonathan Whites farm on the south line of Daniel McAllesters farm and in the same direction to the West line of Lieut. Abner Chapins farme (Truesdell) and closes. The above road established four rods in width from end to end."

At the same time (March 13, 1786) the town voted to "establish a road two rods wide from "William Steels North east corner" to Lieut. Abner Chapin's "to the main road leading east and west through the Town." This is the west road from Obed Peck's to the foot of the hill by Steele Brook.

The road from Tuttle's corner northward over the top of Streeter Hill to Whitingham was established in March, 1789. It was not until 1851 that the road was built from the Veniah Porter place to the west of Streeter Hill to the state line, in order to connect with "the new road lately built by Whitingham." The Zoar road was established in March 1796 as follows:—

"a road leading from Moses Rogers to Zoar laid out by the Selectmen December 11th one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, a turn to be made from the old road this side of Reuben Clarks new house into the edge of the mowing land, and to come into the old road again south of said house, then to turn across a corner of the woods to the left hand and to come into the old road again North of Isaac Capers house, then running by said Capers in the old road to a steep below sd Capers; then to turn to the left hand into a road newly cut out, and down to the banks of the mill Brook and on said banks to Fellows mill thence on the south side of a rise of land by said Brook and a straight course to a marked maple near the banks of a small Brook from thence to a

marked hemlock south of Stephen Goodnows house from thence to the road beyond sd Goodnows, said road to be two rods wide."

The original is still traceable from the sugar house some fifty rods west of the Rice-Wheaton-Truesdell house, following along the brow of the ridge and joining the present road above the Streeter-Maxam house: again to the west and close to the late Joseph King's house hugging the hillside and descending abruptly until it joins the present road near the Fellows cellarhole. There is a tradition that this first road was built along the ridge in order that travellers could see any lurking Indians! The Second Massachusetts Turnpike, often called "Col. White's Turnpike Road," was built in 1797 from the west line of Charlemont over Hoosac Mountain to Adams, and remained a toll road under private ownership until 1833. Various stage lines from Boston to Albany used it before the days of the railroads. Frederic J. Wood is of the opinion that the first bridge over the Deerfield above Zoar was built in 1817.

The first road from David Ballou's near the present Monroe Four Corners was laid out in 1804 down Monroe Mountain fording the Deerfield and up the Rowe slope. Later that year, the town voted to petition the General Court "for assistance to build a Bridge over Deerfield River by a lottery or any other way," but apparently without success. David Ballou and Capt. William Taylor were the committee to send the petition. In 1834 the Selectmen were instructed to erect "a sufficient railing on the road near the Monroe Bridge for the security of travelers."

In March 1787, the road from the meetinghouse northerly past the Robert Wells farm to the Vermont line was definitely established as follows:—

"Beginning at a marked beech tree near the Meetinghouse and running Northerly on the line between Nathan Foster Jun's land the Widow Green and Doct' Heatons until it comes within about six Rods of Capt. Corbets land then turning eastward to Capt Corbets land four rods East of said Fosters Northwest corner from thence North across Capt Corbets land to land formerly belonging to Eliot Makepeace thence north 20 rods thence Northwesterly to Abel Clarys land to John McNitts and Standish Fosters land thence North on the line between said McNitt and Foster to Asa Fosters and Eben' Ingersols land thence on the line between said Foster and Ingersol to Joseph Cresseys and Uphams Corner thence Northerly to Vermont Line."

The section north of the Robert Wells farm to the old Preserved Smith homestead, — later occupied by Sibleys, Wheelers and Pikes, — was discontinued in 1866 and the section beyond to the state line in 1878, but the latter section could be travelled until August 1920, when a cloudburst destroyed a portion.

The first road southerly from Chapin's Mills (Tuttle's Corner) passing the southeastern base of Adams Mountain to the Charlemont line was laid out in 1792. The present "Mine Road" was built in 1848 paralleling a few rods to the eastward the original 1792 road which is still traceable. The road from the old centre past the present centre schoolhouse through the four corners near the Hicks-Shippee farm was described in 1786 as running "on the center line of the old Myrifield plot excepting at a ledge of rocks."

Some of the roads in Rowe were so-called "bridle-ways" (often with gates) which were passed upon by the selectmen and then "established," or as we say nowadays, "accepted," by the town. For instance there used to be a bridle-way from the "cabinet shop of the late William Todd to the Factory," and the county commissioners in 1840 ordered the town to make it a road, but no definite action ever was taken.

In 1845 the town voted 50 to 36 not to build a "new road leading from Lambs Saw Mill in Colerain through Heath to the Factory in Rowe agreeable to a petition of Daniel G. Spooner and others."

In 1838 the town voted 26 to 3 against the petition to the county commissioners for "a Road through the north part of Rowe leading from Colerain to Bennington." A month later 14 voters out of 26 present, voted "to sustain the petition of William Taylor and others for the location of a highway through the north part of the town in case there is a prospect of the same being constructed through to Bennington," but apparently nothing came of it. This William Taylor lived on the Amos Underwood place.

Beginning with Levi Hawks' petition in 1839 there was an agitation every year or two for a road from "Zoar Bridge so called, up the north bank of Deerfield River." It was consistently voted down or passed over, and in 1847 the town voted it down by the decisive

majority of 60 to 0.

The short road "running north from the Dea Thomas place, so called through the Darling lot to Whitingham line," was discontinued in 1870. They began to talk of discontinuing the road leading from Veniah Porter's over Streeter Hill as early as 1862, and in 1872 it was voted to discontinue, but it was not legally closed until 1887. In 1872 the short section from Allen Peck's to Lucius Veber's was accepted; and the old section, which started from a point some 80 rods east of Allen Peck's was discontinued.

An old road is clearly traceable from the main road leading to the Cressy Neighborhood past William Steel's old cellar-hole and following Steele Brook Valley for some distance until it crosses over to the Peck-Veber-Zoar road.

There is one other cellar-hole upon the heights some 50 rods to the southwest of this old road and these two house-lots are all that remain in the Steele Brook region.* The original Peck-Veber road swung sharply to the east, crossing this old Steele Brook road and coming out at William Taylor's. The road down to the Tunnel, namely from E. Henry Hawks'" to County Road near the Hoosac Quarry" was not accepted until 1884, although it was travelled in substantially the same location in the early 1860's. The road north past the Demons, Bolton and Underwood places was accepted in 1822. In 1837 the road was discontinued which crossed from the Bolton place to the Wheeler-Wilcox place north of Edgar Pike's, and which accommodated the school children in that part of the town.

Tradition has it that the first Florida bridge was an open one "built partly of logs, which becoming unsafe was set on fire by persons unknown." A covered one replaced the open one, and a second covered one just finished was taken off by the flood of 1869. The latter part of this tradition coincides with the town records, for in May 1869 the town instructed the selectmen to contract for the "building of Florida Bridge so called, in connection with Florida and Charlemont," and in August of the same year the town voted to change the location "60 rods or less below" the old site. torrential rains came later and the special town meeting to borrow money to make good the damage was called for November 2nd. After months of haggling the town in February 1872 decided to pay its share of the new bridge and to borrow \$2000 for the same. The trouble lay in the fact that one corner of the old bridge (upstream) was in Rowe, having been so surveyed by

^{*} Adelbert Truesdell states that he remembers traces of two other cellar-holes near the headwaters of Steele Brook.

the far-sighted Charlemont selectmen when the line was first perambulated, while no part of the new bridge was within the limits. The Florida bridge was replaced by the present iron structure in 1886.

In 1827 it was voted to join Monroe (which had been a town for five years) in building a bridge across the Deerfield, and in 1853 it was voted to rebuild half of the Monroe Bridge. This was a narrow covered bridge, 115 feet in length according to the map of 1830; and before the advent of the paper mills, it was a wild and picturesque spot. Later it was replaced by an iron bridge which was swept away in 1901 and was replaced by the present iron structure.

In 1807 the town voted to join Hawley and Charlemont in petitioning the General Court for grant of a lottery "for the purpose of building a Bridge over Deerfield River on the County road leading from Charlemont through said Hawley to Northampton "This county road ran southerly from the Charlemont covered bridge through Hawley, the edge of Plainfield and Ashfield to Goshen and so on, and was doubtless the route taken by delegates from Rowe to county conventions at Hatfield or Northampton. It is marked on the map of 1788.

In 1817 the town was willing to allow a lottery to build three bridges over the Deerfield, but the following year it voted against the county building a bridge "at the falls" (Shelburne Falls), at a cost of \$1500.

In May 1825 the town procured a hearse and harness and built a hearse house. In 1850, "the committee chosen to examine the Hearse House, Hearse, etc. report that the frame is worth repairing and recommend the necessary repairs — That the wheels and perhaps the shafts to the hearse are all that are worth anything and recommend a hearse to be constructed

after the modern fashion also recommend the purchase of a new Pall Cloth." In 1883 the present hearse was procured and the following year the town built the present hearse house on the Pond Road. Some years since a party unknown amused himself by firing several shots through the door, thereby damaging the hearse. The calibre of the bullets was found to be .25 while most of the small rifles in the neighborhood (including the writer's) were .22.

The first mention of guide-posts was at the town meeting in May 1795, when agreeable to an act of the General Court, it was "Voted that the selectmen set up guide posts and keep the same in repair in this Town." In 1822 guide-posts were erected "At the angle of the Roads leading to Charlemont and Zoar near the Mills, At the angle of the Roads leading to Heath and to Whitingham and Readsborough near the Meetinghouse, At the angle of the Road, leading to Heath and to Whitingham, and also at the angle of the said Heath Road and the Road leading to Charlemont." In 1840, it was "Voted to place guide posts - one near the store of Reed and Drury, Readsborough, Monroe, Charlemont and Heath, one near James Fords directing to Whitingham, one near John W. Wheelers directing to Whitingham — one near the east School House directing to Charlemont Heath and Rowe,"

CHAPTER V.

CHURCHES OF ROWE.

"Upon this rock I will build my church."

Matthew 16:18.

It is believed that Rev. Cornelius Jones built his house near the old Wells-Ford house three-quarters of a mile east of the subsequent centre of the town, and that the dwelling was made of planks split from white ash timber, floor of the same material, and the roof covered with long split shingles. In this house, Mr. Jones preached to the people every Sabbath until 1770 when a small church edifice was built on land given by himself near the southwest corner of the cross roads at the old centre. Deacon Thomas in 1845 stated that it was "about the size of the Orthodox house," that it was covered with "a single coat of rough boards," with a door in the centre of the south side, and "instead of glass windows to defend the inmates from the sweeping blast, it was surrounded by a dense forest of ever-green." The early records were destroyed in the parsonage fire; and we find little that is authentic before 1785, when the town voted to build a pound near "the meeting-house." We do know, however, that the Church of Christ in Myrifield with nine signatures to the Covenant was organized at a much earlier date, and that by 1776 the number had materially The church-roll of 1776 contained the increased. names of Aaron and Eunice Gleason, William and Mary Hartwell, Abiah and Abigail Lamb, James and Thankful Thayer, Hannah Thomas, Mary McAllister, Jedediah, Elizabeth, and Rachel Lamb, Mary Wilson, Lucy Chapin, Esther Eddy, Gideon Chapin, Sarah

Chapin, Abigail and Henry Wilson. April 4, 1785 the town voted "to hire preaching two months the year ensuing." It will be remembered that two tythingmen were chosen the previous week. The following year, March 13, 1786, the town voted to choose a committee "to take cognizance of the old rate bill respecting building the meetinghouse which is now standing in this Town." Three years later, March 9, 1789, Asa Foster was granted £3-2 "for making 168 squares of sash fixing windows and setting glass for the meetinghouse." Apparently extensive repairs were made in the fall of 1787 as many small items appear in the old records.

Plans for a new and larger meetinghouse began to be discussed, and in April 1791 the town voted to build "a Meetinghouse fifty feet long and forty feet wide." Nothing came of it because the voters could not agree upon the location. The trouble was over the question of the centre of the town. Some thought that the land west of the Deerfield would never be settled, or if it were there would be no communication with the main town. Through the rest of that year and for a good part of the next, the controversy increased. There were votes and counter votes. An article in the warrant called for a petition to the General Court at Boston to appoint a committee to determine upon the location, but happily there were enough with either a sense of humor or local pride to vote down this proposal.

Finally, it was decided to build the new meetinghouse on the lot on which the old one stood; and a new structure was erected in the summer and fall of 1793. According to Deacon Thomas the frame was prepared under the leadership of Asa Foster and was ready for raising about July first. The men were assisted by the contents of a barrel of rum, and all hands had a bountiful meal prepared by the mothers, wives and daughters. The top timbers were put in place the following day under charge of Jesse Howard. Then a board floor was laid, a work-bench placed under the pulpit window with steps to ascend it, and some boards nailed up in front for a pulpit. The seats were of boards. If the town's vote was carried out, the new building was painted a cream color with red roof and green doors. It was not entirely completed for several years, as we find a number of warrants containing articles "for further finishing the meetinghouse"; but at length, at a meeting December 24, 1801, the town was imbued with the Christmas spirit and took definite action to finish the structure. A porch was added the following year.

Nov. 1, 1802 the town voted to seat the meetinghouse "according to what each Person shall pay on the three last grants of money that was granted for finishing the Meeting House." Below we give the list which was submitted by the committee and which was accepted with a few changes.

| I | Pew | | Pew |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Isaac Langdon Lieut. Gideon Chapin | 24 | Jacob Bliss Benjamin Shumway | 31 |
| Capt. William Taylor Noah Brown | 11 | Reuben Gleason Joshua Dodge | 1 |
| Asa Foster 2nd Standish Foster | 10 | Nathan Foster Joel Hill | 12 |
| Lemuel Barret Archibald Thomas | 25 | Benjamin Stone Capt. Nath ¹ Corbet | 9 |
| Rev. ^d Preserved Smith Col ^o John Wells | 23 | Isaiah Adams Gideon Chapen | 20 |
| John Hiberd Thaddeus Merril | 22 | Moses Bullard Ambrose Potter Jr. | 26 |

| 1 | Pew | | Pew |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Caleb Blakeslee Ebenezer Hayward | 14 | Baldwin Potter Joel Hall | 21 |
| Jonas Gleason Jonathan Marsh | 7 | William Langdon Jedediah Barret | 2 |
| Josiah Carpenter Ezra Tuttle | 17 | Thomas Goodnow Jr. Jonas Gleason Jr. | . 2 |
| John Cheney Moses Streeter | 30 | Jonah Hill Amze Langdon Nathaniel Gleason | 6 |
| Silas Colton Ebenezer Nims | 29 | Amos Richardson | |
| Asa Foster Martin Wilson | 28 | John Brown John Blodget Jude Cross Sylvester Nash | 15 |
| Abijah Barr Isaac Slatter | 27 | Charles Basset Timothy Knolton Jr. | |
| Doc ^r Haynes Cornelius Barr | 15 | Asa Pane Warren Wilson | 1 |
| Isaac Pierpont Capt. Zebulon Benton | 16 | Heman Kintfield Nahum White Rufus Streeter Timothy Carpenter | 16 |
| Henry Wilson Jr. John Fisher Stephen Brown | 4 | Daniel Warner James Streeter Samuel Bell | 5 |
| Job Stafford Humphrey Taylor Paul Knolton | 6 | Orrin Thurber Eanos Lamb | 10 |
| Titus Todd James Brown Noadiah Warner | 2 | Jonathan White Jr. Jeremiah Shumway Ebenezer Knolton | 10 |
| Isaac Cooper Stephen Gleason Shuman Langdon | 13 | Abner Chapin Jr. Amos Gleason Jonathan Fisher Joseph Chapin | 7 |

| | Pew | Pew |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Amos Willmath Abijah Weers Eliphalet Cutting | 19 | Charles Hibard Levi Tuttle 11 Ebenezer Fellows Jonathan Cressy |
| Simeon Barr Thomas Cheney John Williams | 5 | Apollos Carpenter David Below (Ballou) John Huntington 4 |
| Lewis Chandler John Thomas Samuel Bolton | 32 | David Thomas Jacob Briant |
| Eli Tuttle Jonathan White Consider Brown | 8 | Elisha Briant 13 Israel Braley Matthew Barr |
| John Adams Thomas Goodnow Judah Goodspeed Amos Bradley | 3 | Levi Ray Samuel Lamson 12 Gideon Langdon Nathaniel Corbet Jr. |
| Jelah Munson Ebenezer Allin Shadrach Chapin | | |

May 1, 1804 it was voted

Colo Benjamin Otis

"to asign the two wall Pews next to the Pulpit to the old People and the Pew at the Corner at the left hand of the alley next to the Deacons Seat to our Minister and that the rest of the Pews in the Lower part of the Meeting House be seated three Families in a Pew on the last Highway Tax... and that they draw their Pews after being closed and that the Galleries be seated according to the discretion of the seaters."

"The Inhabitants were classed and chose their Pews as follows:—"

| Class | Pew | Class | Pew |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Rev. P. Smith John Wells, Esq. | 23 | Gideon Chapin 2. Isaac Langdon William Taylor | 24 |

| Clas | ss P | Pew | Clas | SS | Pew |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| 3. | Archibald Thomas Nathan Foster Charles McCloud | 25 | | Silas Colton Ebenezer Haywa Ambrose Potter | rd 20 Jr. |
| 4. | Caleb Blakslee Lemuel Barrett Noah Brown | 22 | 1 5. | Consider Brown Stephen Gleason Isaiah Adams | 7 |
| 5. | Standish Foster Thaddeus Merrill Benjamin Shumwa | 12 y | 16. | Job Stafford Stephen Brown John Cheney | 1 |
| 6. | Pardon Haynes Ebenezer Nims Benjamin Stone | 9 | 17. | Isaac Cooper Joel Hall Sarah Taylor | 15 |
| 7. | Asa Foster Jacob Bliss Joel Hill | 31 | 18. | Judah Goodspeed Cornelius Barr Amos Wilmarth | 16 |
| 8. | Jonathan Marsh Zebulon Benton Isaac Slatter | 14 | 19. | Titus Todd Nahum White Lewis Chandler | 17 |
| 9. | Jonas Gleason Reuben Gleason Joshua Dodge | 26 | 20. | John Thomas Ezra Tuttle Simeon Barr | 6 |
| 10. | Baldwin Potter Noadiah Warner John Hibberd | 21 | 21. | Isaac Pierpont Paul Knowlton James Brown | 4 |
| 11. | Moses Streeter Abijah Ware Josiah Carpenter | 30 | 22. | Abijah Barr Gideon Langdon Thomas Cheney | 27 |
| 1 2. | Gideon Chapin Jr. Moses Bullard Martin Wilson | 28 | 23. | Samuel Ballou Asa Paine Ebenezer Allen | 2 |
| 13. | Benjamin Otis Shadrach Chapin Henry Wilson Jr. | 29 | 24. | Jonathan Cresey Timothy Knowlto Jedediah Barrett | |

Class

Pew

Pew

Class

| 25. | John Williams Jonathan White Jonas Gleason Jr. | 19 | 36. | Stephen Woodward Jude Cross 3 John Huntington |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 26. | William Langdon Samuel Lamson John Brown | 32 | 37. | Caleb Carpenter Samuel Negus 13 Daniel Warner |
| 27 . | Levi Ray Sylvester Nash Selah Munson | 13 | 38. | Ezra Brown Samuel Carpenter Elisha Briant. |
| 28. | Charles Winchester Eliphalet Cutting David Balleau | r 8 | 39. | Amos Gleason |
| 29. | Charles Hibberd Thomas Goodnow Nathanial Gleason | | 40 | Joseph Chapin Jesse Gleason |
| 30. | Horace Thurber John W. Blodget Galle Charles Basset | ery 1 | 40. | Noah Brown Jr. Nathaniel Corbet Jr. Thomas Chapin Archibald Taylor Stephen Brown 2nd |
| 31. | Jonah Hill John Hall Bel Amos Richardson | ow 3 | 41. | Gallery Pews Alfred Olds Septimeus Foster Martin Dier |
| 32. | James Streeter David Thomas Amzi Langdon | 2 | | Nathan Wheeler Matthew Barr |
| 33. | Rufus Streeter Timothy Carpenter Apollos Carpenter | 6 | | Henry Wilson Jonathan Marsh Mr. Dodge Ambrose Potter Aaron Gleason |
| 34. | Ezra Bradley John Hibberd Jr. Jude Tuttle | 15 | | Widow Nash Widow Brown John Adams Hezekiah Pierpont |
| 35. | Abner Chapin Jr. Samuel P. Nims Ebenezer Fellows | 14 | | Nathaniel Corbet Thomas Goodnow Ephraim Hill |
| | | | | |

Class Pew

Widow Colton Widow Ward Widow Wilmarth Widow Goodspeed Widow Thomas "We assign five Pews on the North end of the Gallery to the young women Beginning west to count and also the front Seats in the Galleries to the Singers."

Rev. Preserved Smith was ordained as the first regular pastor November 21, 1787, although Rev. Abisha Colton had done some preaching the previous year. Mr. Smith was dismissed May 30, 1804, and his connection with Rowe is so interesting that we reserve another place for its discussion. After his dismissal, the town invited Rev. Freeman Sears of Natick, but Mr. Sears declined. The town made him a second offer with an increase in salary from \$333.33 to \$500, but Mr. Sears remained obdurate.

Rev. Jonathan Gilmore next received a call to settle, which he accepted. However, the council, when called to install him, found only a small majority in his favor, and they declined to install him.

Rev. Jonathan Keith became the second settled pastor, Jan. 6, 1808. He was a native of Bridgewater and a graduate of Brown in the Class of 1805. At his own request he was dismissed from the Rowe church June 10, 1812, after the town in 1811 had refused to pay his "debt at Deerfield" amounting to \$100. Again Rev. Preserved Smith settled as the pastor, December 2, 1812, and remained over nineteen years until his resignation March 10, 1832. His successors were Rev. William L. Stearns, 1833-1849; Rev. Stillman Barber, 1850-1852; Rev. Increase Sumner Lincoln, 1853-1860; Rev. Hiram Norton, 1861-1864; Rev. Levi Woodbury Ham, 1864-1866; Rev. William M. Bicknell, 1867-1885; Rev. John Mason W. Pratt, 1886-1888; Rev. Herman Hau-

gerud, 1893-1895; Rev. Samuel Thomson, 1895-1896; Rev. Edward P. Pressey, 1896-1899; Rev. Walter Knight, 1900-1902; Rev. Margaret B. Bernard, 1902-1916; Rev. Robert M. L. Holt, 1916-1920; Rev. Mary L. Leggett, 1920; Rev. Thomas H. Weston of Greenfield supplied the pulpit between 1885 and 1886, and Rev. Daniel H. Rogan of Athol and Mrs. Lyche of Warwick between 1888 and 1893. The Society was incorporated in 1911.

In 1800 a Methodist class was formed. By 1828 the number had increased to 60, when a meetinghouse was erected on the knoll east of the bridge by which the road to Heath crosses Pelham Brook. The land was deeded by Solomon Reed to Elisha Brown, Horace Blakeslee, Josiah W. Reed and John I. Bassett, Trustees. The following were preachers: Rev. Messrs. Elijah Ward, Timothy Carpenter, Samuel Carpenter, Shadrach Bostwick, Peter Van Ness, Michael Coate, Joseph Mitchell, Joseph Crawford, Freeman Bishop, Elijah R. Sabin, Daniel Ostrander, Daniel Brumley, C. Hammond, J. W. Lewis, Wm. Bardwell, Edward A. Manning, L. B. Clarke, J. W. Jordan, Edward Day, Moses Spencer, G. R. Bent, Lorenzo White, Randall Mitchell, E. J. Stevens, N. J. Merrill, John H. Lord, W. H. Adams, Alfred Noon, A. M. Osgood, W. E. Dwight, W. E. Knox, Burtis Judd, and L. P. Frost. The church did not flourish for many years; and Holland writing in 1855 stated that the society was not then prosperous. The writer, a few years ago, found the bible in place on the pulpit opened at Lamentations, mute evidence of the Society's decline. Samuel Woffenden wrote in his diary, "The last preaching service held in the old Methodist Church was in 1889, the Pastor was Rev. Emmanuel Charlton a Swede; he also preached in Charlemont ". But in 1870 notices

of town meetings were posted at the East Schoolhouse instead of at the "East Church".

In November 1797, the town voted to "discharge a number of Baptists from the sallery tax", including Isaac Slatter, Job Stafford, Nathan Holton, Jacob Bliss, and Cornelius Barr. Services were held in private houses and in the West Schoolhouse; and July 15, 1810, the baptist church was organized with 27 members. The first meetinghouse was built in 1835 near the west schoolhouse, close to the site of the Miller-Ayers house. Mrs. Peck describes it as follows:—

"The house was painted white when built, with three windows on each side and two in the rear. The inside walls were white with an arched ceiling. The pulpit was between the two doors and the window back of it had a parted white curtain trimmed with fringe. The other windows had white curtains in later years. There was one aisle with pews or slips, six on each side that would seat about eight grown persons and two shorter slips across each end of the open space in front. There were two rows of seats across the rear end, which were the singers' seats, each row rising a step higher. A stove in front of the north row of slips with pipe passing over the aisle, a red bookcase at the end of one of the shorter pews, a red table, and two elm seated chairs completed the furniture . . . The house was lighted in the evening by candles or lamps on the pulpit, and table below, and by candles in little candlesticks in front of tin reflectors on the walls between the windows. Soon after the meetinghouse was built the singing was accompanied by a violin, and after that by a bass viol, but for several years a melodeon or cottage organ was carried in on Sunday ".

In May 1876 the parsonage was sold for \$250 and the meetinghouse for \$40 and the money applied toward building the present Baptist meetinghouse below the village school. This was dedicated December 6, 1876. The bell was acquired in 1885. The house and lot above the school house were purchased for a Parsonage in

April 1890. The old meetinghouse was moved southwest to the Hibbard-Kiley place where it now forms the main part of the Kiley-Truesdell house.

Elder Samuel Carpenter became the first pastor of the Baptist Society in 1810 and continued until 1821. His successors were Rev. Arad Hall, 1824-1833; Rev. Edward Davenport, 1835; Rev. Nathaniel Ripley, 1840-1845; Rev. B. F. Remington, 1845-1847; Rev. James Parker, 1847-1850; Rev. George Carpenter, 1850-1854; Rev. Erasmus D. Fish, 1854-1865; Rev. Charles Brooks, 1865-1868; Rev. I. M. Willmarth, 1868-1870; Rev. A. A. Millard, 1870-1871; Rev. George Carpenter, 1871-1873; Rev. Rufus Smith, 1874-1875; Rev. H. C. Coombs, 1875-1877; Rev. Jacob Davis, 1877-1889; Rev. Charles G. Simmons, 1890-1892; Rev. Alfred D. Barter, 1893-1897; Rev. C. J. Harding, 1897-1898; Rev. H. C. Buffum, 1899-1901; Rev. Otis Darby, 1901-1904; Rev. J. E. Dinsmore, 1904-1907; Rev. Rolla Hunt, 1908-1910; Rev. Luther Holmes, 1910-1912; Rev. C. W. Sables, 1912; Rev. Leslie B. Moss, 1913; Rev. J. R. Lawrence, 1915-1916; Rev. D. T. Richards, 1916-1918; Rev. S. A. Caldwell, 1918 — who lives in Florida, which town he serves with Rowe and Monroe.

Rev. Samuel P. Everett was for some years a member of the church and preached at various times from 1869 until his death in 1907. He also filled the pulpit of the Baptist church in Whitingham, Vermont, (six miles north of Rowe) at various times, and was the regularly settled pastor there from June 1, 1870 to January 1, 1872.

To return to the old meetinghouse at the centre of the town. In May 1814 the following ambitious vote was passed, — To raise \$100 to repair and paint the meetinghouse. "Voted to paint the body of the house a French yellow the roof a Chocolate Colour & the inside a Light Blue." But this action was rescinded shortly after and \$15 was appropriated instead. During the next few years we find considerable discontent over the seating. The proper solution was found in 1845 when the pews, or slips as they were called, were auctioned off to the highest bidders, and the proceeds used to defray the cost of the new edifice.

Rev. Preserved Smith changed his theological views and became a Unitarian in 1821, and his church soon accepted this denomination. March 10, 1832 he made his last prayer in Rowe at a meeting when he resigned. The following December the church extended a call to Rev. William L. Stearns who settled the following month. In the meantime the Second Congregational Church (Orthodox) was organized April 10, 1833 with only three members, who worshipped in a barn. 1834 they built a meetinghouse just south of the old Unitarian meetinghouse, which they used until 1856, when it was made over into a public hall. A decade later it was moved three-quarters of a mile down the hill and acquired the name of Union Hall, perhaps because Orthodox, Unitarians and Baptists have each held services in it in the hard winter months.

The Orthodox society by 1853 included 28 members. The first pastor was Rev. John C. Thompson, who was ordained in 1835. He was dismissed in June 1837, and his successor, Rev. Andrew Govan, was settled from September 1838 to 1842. Rev. Benjamin F. Clarke was settled from 1843 to 1850 and was succeeded by Rev. J. Pomeroy. When their meetinghouse was moved down the hill, the society had diminished to such an extent that it became advisable to discontinue services.

In 1845, the "Church of Christ in Rowe", as the old society, now Unitarian, was called, built the third meetinghouse, a few rods east of the intersection of the

roads. It was modelled on the plans of the churches at Greenfield and Charlemont and cost \$1673.07. The writer well remembers attending services in it twenty-four years ago. The present stone and wood structure was built in 1907, at what is now the center of Rowe three-quarters of a mile south of the old center, and is erected on the site of the Union Hall which latter was sold to Arthur Fisk and removed across Pelham Brook. The new meetinghouse cost \$5916.36 of which \$5000 was given by Frederic E. Smith as a memorial to his great-grandfather Preserved Smith.

CHAPTER VI.

PRESERVED SMITH IN ROWE.

"And I will raise me up a faithful priest."

I Samuel 2:35.

At the spring town meeting, March 19, 1787, the voters appropriated the sum of fifteen pounds "for the use of the gospel in this Town," and chose Deacon Jonas Gleason and Henry Wilson "a Committee to provid Preaching ". At the same meeting Nathan Foster was allowed 18 shillings "for his horse and spending Money after a candidate "and Nathan Foster, Jr, 16 shillings "for his services after a candidate ". In the summer of 1787 Rev. Preserved Smith, a young divine one year out of college, and a native of the neighboring town of Ashfield, came to Rowe as a candidate. He had joined the Revolutionary army at the age of sixteen and had served in five campaigns in the 5th Hampshire County Regiment commanded by Col. David Wells of Shelburne (whose daughter he was later to marry in 1788) and had been present at the surrender of Burgoyne. He had taught school winters, worked summers, and fitted himself for college with the aid of Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Shelburne. In 1786 he had graduated from Brown University. The new candidate boarded two months at the house of Benjamin Shumway for which the latter was allowed two pounds and eleven shillings, while Nathan Foster was granted 6/5 for "dineing Mr. Smith while a candidate ".

A town meeting was called October 22, 1787 to see if the town would retain Mr. Smith. The records show,— "After solemn prayer to Almighty God performed by Mr. Preserved Smith the Pastor elect for direction of the Inhabitants Voted unanimously to concur with the churches choice of Mr. Preserved Smith to be the Pastor of this church and People ". His salary was fixed at 150 pounds; namely 50 pounds "at or before the first February next, and Fifty pounds the First of November 1788, and fifty pounds the first of November 1789, the whole to be paid in neat cattle " as incouragement to settle ". This vote seemed confusing so they voted to pay him 50 pounds for the first year's salary with an annual increase of 3 pounds until the sum reached 65 pounds. Again, lest there be a misunderstanding another vote was passed that the salary be paid in the following articles, - " beef fed by grass at 16/8 per C. porke well fatted at 6/0 per score wheat at 4/0 and rie at 3/0 per bushel and indian corn at 2/5 per bushel the above articles to be of good quality Bulls and Stags excepted."

November 21st was set for the ordination ceremony and the previous Wednesday was set aside as a "day of solemn fasting and prayer to God for a Blessing on their endeavors." The great day came and the dignitaries arrived. Lieut. John Wells entertained the ordaining council and Mr. Smith's friends, for which he was later allowed five pounds and nine shillings—We quote from the records:—

"Convened at Rowe Nov^r 20th 1787

An Ecclesiastical Council consisting of Churches in Greenfield Conway Shelburn Leveret & Deerfield by their Elders and Messengers

| Elders | Messengers | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|--|
| Rev ^d Messrs. | | • | | |
| Roger Newton | with | Mr. Joseph Wells | Greenfield | |
| John Emerson | | Dn Jona Root | Conway | |
| Robert Hubbard | | Col David Wells | Shelburne | |
| Henry Williams | | D ⁿ Jon ^a Field | Leverit | |
| John Taylor | | D ⁿ Asabel Wright | Deerfield | |

The Rev^d Roger Newton was chosen Moderator and John Emerson Scribe. This Council was convened by letters missives from the Chh of Christ in Rowe for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Preserved Smith to the work of the Gospel Ministry the council being opened by prayer to God by the Moderator for his presence and Direction on this important occasion; a Committee of the Chh and Town laid before the Council their Votes and proceedings Relative to their Call, to Mr. Smith to Settle among them likewise Mr. Smith Produced a Testimonial of his Chh Relation & his approbation to preach the Gospel the Council then proceeded to a particular and full examination of the said Mr. Smith Relative to his knowledge in Divinity his inward acquaintance with experimental Religion his principal views in devoting himself to the Ministry with his abilities and qualifications to that important work whereupon the Question being put whether this Council are satisfied with Mr. Smith Respecting the Qualifications Above Mentioned passed in the affirmative it was then put to the Council whether the way is open to procede to the Ordination of Mr. Preserved Smith to the work of the Ministry in this Town. Voted in the affirmative unanimously Voted also that the several parts of ordination should be performed in the order following (viz) That the Rev^d Henry Williams open the solemnity by prayer the Rev^d Robert Hubbard preach the Sermon the Rev^d John Emerson Making the ordaining Prayer the Rev^d Roger Newton give the Charge the Rev^d John Taylor give the Right hand of fellowship the Revd Roger Newton make the concluding Prayer.

Nov^r 21st the Council agreeable to their Votes yesterday proceded to the ordination of the Rev^d Preserved Smith to the work of the Ministry over the Chh & congregation in Rowe and the several parts of the ordination were performed Publicly in the Meetinghouse in said Town according to the order appointed by the Council expressed in the above mentioned Votes.

A true copy

Attest John Emerson Scribe ".

All went well for nearly ten years. In 1797, however, friction arose and Mr. Smith allowed it to be known that he desired a dismissal. The town called a meeting November 30th and voted not to dismiss him, when he came forward and made a formal request for dismissal. A committee was then appointed which on December 17th recommended "that our Revd Pastor continue as a Pastor of this Chh and People for one year from the nineteenth day of Novr last in order to see if the dificulties which are on his Mind may be removed, and if not removed in that time then the Chh: and Town is to join with Mr. Smith calling an ecclesiastical council to advise in his dismission." The story is told how Preserved Smith and his wife were riding to church one Sunday morning. Their home was a mile north of the old center where Sibleys, Wheelers, and Pikes later were to live; and the road was then open over the hill past the "old stone house". A glance backward showed their house on fire and help must have been slow in arriving, for all the early church records including the hell-fire covenant, were consumed. ancient Calvinism was never renewed and for a while the Bible became the creed of the church. Perhaps Deacon Foster, hard Puritan that he was, remembered the old creed, and in this way was inspired to lead his small band of followers until they had driven their minister from the town. The Direct Tax of 1798 describes the Smith homestead as "East on the Town Road," — a one-story house covering 576 square feet, containing seven windows.

Mr. Smith was now receiving 65 pounds yearly, but it was not always paid over when due. In March 1800 the town voted not to pay 6% interest on the balance then due him. Here was one of the reasons for the "dificulties on his mind". In 1801 the salary became \$216.67 and again no interest was granted on the "delinquent balance." The following article in the warrant in April 1801 shows a further widening of the

breach: - "To see if the Town and the individuals who are unwilling to pay their proportion of the Rev. Mr. Smith's salary can agree and adopt measures to accommodate the misunderstanding respecting the same." Each side chose three men who in turn chose a committee of three "to settle matters of difficulty with regard to their paying their proportion ". Apparently nothing was effected, for an article along the same lines, the following January, again was voted down. In March 1802 Mr. Smith's salary was increased to \$250. Matters again reached a crisis in the fall of 1803. The town on September 21, 1803 voted unanimously against dismissing him. Three weeks later at a second meeting the town voted to "join the Revd Preserved Smith to Call a Council to assist in effecting a reconciliation if practicable and if not to dismiss him." A month later a third meeting was called and his salary was raised from \$250 to \$300. This apparently settled matters for "Mr. Smith then came into the meeting and so far settled the difficulty between him and this town that he agreed to return to his Ministerial labors." An idea of the value of the dollar in 1803 can be gained from the fact that 83 cents per day was allowed a citizen in working off his highway taxes.

By next spring the discontented minority under the leadership of Deacon Foster, were able to make themselves heard again, and through their efforts the breach was irreparably widened. In May 1804 the town voted to retain Mr. Smith if he "relinquish the pay for those eight Sabbaths in which he neglected to supply the Pulpit last fall". Mr. Smith then appeared at the meeting and made these proposals in writing,—

"At a Legal Town meeting the Rev^d Mr. Smith appeared and after exhibiting the causes of uneasiness between him and some people in this Town relative to his support gave it as his opinion that his ministerial labors can be no longer useful to the church and people in this place under existing circumstances — . . . " He then proposed that,

- 1. Rowe give a regular dismission and act in concert with him in convoking an ecclesiastical council.
- 2. Mr. Smith relinquish \$38.50 for suspending eight weeks in the previous September and October.
- 3. The town give him notes, one payable in three months, the other March 1st next for salary now due.

These proposals the town promptly voted to accept. The Council was held in Rowe, May 29, 1804 and was composed of the ministers from Heath, Colrain, Buckland, Hawley, Charlemont and Shelburne, together with seven delegates from the same towns. A long opinion was handed down which we quote in part,—
"it appeared that difficulties had arisen respecting his support, and Mr. Smith's feelings and those of the Town as expressed to us, relative to his continuing in the ministry among them, afforded no prospect, that any permanent reconciliation could be effected, and consequently that his influence and usefulness seemed much diminished."

Accordingly they recommended his dismissal and went on to say,—

"We heartily condole with him in his present troubles, and wish him Divine Support, and cheerfully recommend him as a Christian and a minister to the improvement of the Churches of Christ. . . We further recommend it to the Church and People to strive for peace, and the things whereby they may edefy one another that the God of love and Peace may dwell among them."

There is a volume expressed in these closing lines. His last discourse was based on the text from Proverbs 15;17,—" Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith".

The Church of Christ in Whitingham, Vermont was organized October 25, 1804, and four weeks later voted to invite Rev. Preserved Smith to settle. The town then voted to concur and offered a salary of \$300. It

seems that Mr. Smith had been preaching in Whitingham, but he declined the invitation to remain. In his last sermon in December 1804 he hinted at the reason, by stating that he thought it unwise for the town to settle a pastor before finishing the meetinghouse. We cannot avoid the suspicion that the reverend gentleman had a bit of Yankee shrewdness among his other good qualities.

In 1805 Mr. Smith removed to Mendon and his son Preserved, a lad of sixteen, drove the 4-ox team, laden with the household goods, a journey of 100 miles requiring six days. Here he became interested in Arminianism, although he did not reject the Divinity. While preaching at Mendon one of his old enemies in Rowe circulated a slanderous pamphlet among his new parishioners, but happily with no ill effects.

We have seen in a previous paragraph that the town of Rowe, after Mr. Smith's dismissal, May 30, 1804, tried in vain to obtain the services of Rev. Freeman Sears. Then they invited Rev. Jonathan Gilmore, but the Council was far-sighted and refused to install him because of the smallness of the majority of the townspeople who favored him. After this, Rev. Jonathan Keith became the settled pastor in January 1808. Mr. Keith asked for his dismissal in May 1812 which was granted a month later, and the causes given were the state of his health and "dissensions among the people". The record of recent years surely proves that history repeats itself.

The citizens then assembled (September 4, 1812) and voted unanimously to extend another call to Rev. Preserved Smith and to offer him \$300, the same salary he had received when dismissed eight years before. Truly, this could hardly be said to have been very tempting, and it must have been his old love for Rowe

and its people that prompted him to accept. The old records reveal nothing further as to Mr. Smith's second settlement in Rowe, and we can picture a fruitful and contented pastorate for many years. His salary of \$300 was appropriated annually from 1812 to 1831 inclusive. March 5, 1832 the town voted "to dispense with raising Mr. Smith's Salary at this time," which is the last recorded item relating to him. He was now seventy-three years old and felt compelled to give up his charge. Here he had spent the best part of his life; he had had three children born, - Preserved, Jr., in 1789, Royal in 1799; and had buried two, Royal in 1820 aged 21, and an infant in 1791. From Rowe he went to Warwick to live with his son, where he died two years later, August 19, 1834. The inscription on his gravestone, now housed in the Memorial Church in Rowe, reads as follows:

Rev. Preserved Smith
died
August 19, 1834
Graduated at Providence 1786
Settled at Rowe 1787
Then at Mendon 1805
Again at Rowe 1812
Where he lived with an
Affectionate People till 1832
When he retired from the ministry.

Remember those who have spoken unto you the word of God. Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.—

Heb. 13; 7.

Pressey in later years thus picturesquely writes,

"He was a great student, and talked face to face with the citizens of Rowe one and a half hours' discourses, twice a Sunday for 36 years, which with weekly lectures and other public discourses, makes it that his voice must have vibrated on this Rowe air some eight to ten thousand hours. And judging from this, together with the way his memory was revered, there must have been a great deal of Preserved Smith left in Rowe."

CHAPTER VII.

Schools, Library, Burying-Grounds, Stages, etc.

"The chief glory of New England is in her public schools."

Old Saving.

The early history of the Rowe schools is based in large part on tradition. It is believed that the first school was prior to 1775 in a log cabin which stood on the site occupied later by the Wells-Ford-Goldthwaite homestead, and that the teacher was Miss Marah Jones, daughter of Cornelius Jones. The scholars were compelled to travel a considerable distance in many cases. The only books were the Bible, the Psalter, Dilworth's spelling book and an arithmetic called Young Man's Best Companion. Subsequently, several schools were held in private houses in winter and in barns in warmer weather until the incorporation of the town.

At the first town meeting, the citizens voted "to hire preaching ", but made no appropriation for schools. At the second meeting, September 15, 1785, the town voted "to make but three school Divisions". The first appropriation was 30 pounds for "use of Schooling "made at the meeting in March 1787. Two and a half years later, October 30, 1789, the town voted to divide the town into two school divisions only, the "East Division to take all East of the Road leading from John Adams to Capt. Goodspeads and the west division to take all West of said road. Voted to hire a schoolmaster to keep school two Months in Each division ". A committee of two was then appointed "to hire a School Master" Apparently the committee's efforts were successful, for in the following January, the town voted "that the present School Master is to keep three Months for the East part of the Town," and also voted "to hire another School Master three months to keep in the West part of the Town," In 1790 John Wells was allowed £3-3 "for Bording School Master 14 weeks;" Isaac Langdon 13 shillings "for Bording School Master and his Horse two weeks; and Gideon Chapin £1-8 for "keeping the School Masters horse fourteen weeks".

Considerable agitation arose over the matter of building schoolhouses, but no constructive action was taken at the meeting in May 1795. Nevertheless a "west schoolhouse" is mentioned in the description of a road in March 1796. In April 1797, the town set up three school divisions, North, Center and West,—and voted to build three schoolhouses. Later, the south division was added to take care of the families living east and south of Adams Mountain. In 1798 the sum of \$205 was appropriated for "Building Schoolhouses".

In April 1817 the town granted \$50 for a teacher "to instruct in singing sacred music." In recent years the schoolhouses have been as follows:—

Village School at the foot of the hill, one half mile below present center. Center School, one quarter mile west of the old center. East School, a few rods east of the east burying ground, North School, on the road to Readsboro, at the junction of the Deacon Thomas cross-road. West School, north of Miller-Ayers house, one mile south of the end of the "four-rods west road". Davis Mine School, one-half mile west of the Davis Mine. Peck-Cressy or Southwest School, one-quarter mile west of Allen Peck's homestead on the road through the Cressy Neighborhood to Hoosac Tunnel. In 1920, the sum of \$2,286.37 was paid in salaries to teachers at the Village, West, Center, and

Davis schools and \$55 to the teacher at the North school. No sessions have been held at the Peck-Cressy school for about twenty years.

The town has never maintained any school above the grammar grades, but provides tuition for those desiring to attend high schools in other towns. Several have attended high schools in Charlemont and North Adams, and also the old Academy in Whitingham which flourished from 1842 to 1861. The school system used to include "prudential committees" who were chosen in each school district and who were authorized to "contract with teachers." In earliest times the school was held in houses and moved about in order "best to accommodate the whole." The school report for June 1840 shows 204 scholars between the ages of four and sixteen. At the Centre were 50, West 26, North 18, South 9, East 35, Mill 36, Southwest 26, and River 4.

In 1894 a school district was formed comprising the towns of Charlemont, Hawley, Florida and Monroe, for centralized school supervision, and in April 1897 the town of Rowe joined. All contribute to the superintendent's salary and a substantial portion is advanced by the State.

In October 1804 the town formally accepted the donation of two hundred dollars bequeathed by "Asa Foster 2nd late of Rowe Deceased for the use of Schooling as contained in his last Will and Testament." Turning to his will dated 1803, we find that his property was worth some \$1500. "This gratuity (it reads) is not a sudden emotion but has for a long time been contemplated. And all the returns and respect I wish for is the good advice which many may find leisure to give my orphan children with a particular regard for their interests and happiness in this

world and a future world." The donation of \$200 in 1803 would be equivalent to close to \$1000 today.

LIBRARY.

Rowe's Social Library was organized December 18, 1797 as the result of the efforts of Rev. Preserved Smith with probably the assistance of Col. John Wells. The original agreement of 1797 stated the purpose of the society to be that "of promoting friendship & useful knowledge, & with a particular view of purchasing a Library, which is to be the property of said Society Jointly." The name of the "Literary Society in the town of Rowe" was adopted and so remained until the reorganization in January 1806, when it was changed to "The Social Library in Rowe." The first officers were Col. John Wells, Librarian; William Langdon, Clerk; Asa Foster, 2nd, Treasurer; Deacon Jonas Gleason, Censor; Rev. Preserved Smith, Capt. William Taylor, and Dr. Pardon Havnes, Judges. The duties of the Librarian were to have possession of the books, and keep a catalogue and record of their cost. The Censor collected "fines and taxes" and the Judges "tried and determined all causes laid before them by the censor," - namely, any delinquencies on the part of the proprietors. The dues the first year were \$3, and a fine of 17 cents was imposed for nonattendance at a meeting and 81-2 cents for late attendance. Members could sell their interest to non-members only with the society's consent, but could obtain a refund of their subscription upon moving away more than twelve miles. The original members were, - John Wells, Preserved Smith, Asa Foster, 2nd, Moses Streeter, Pardon Haynes, Standish Foster, William Langdon, William Taylor, Lewis Chandler, Jonas Gleason, Zebulon Benton, Lemuel Barret, Asa Foster,

Nathan Foster, Sylvester Nash, Caleb Blakslee, Noah Brown, Abel Basset, Joel Hall, John Thomas, Jonathan White, Andrew Carnegie, Benjamin Olds, James Smith, Amos Negus, Matthew Middleditch, and Ezra Brown.

At first books could be borrowed and returned at any time, but this privilege was restricted in 1802 to the period from "twelve o'clock to sunset" on the 2nd and 4th Wednesday of each month. At the reorganization in 1806, the 77 volumes, two blank books, and "Book Desk" were sold under the hammer for \$41.24 at the house of Ezra Tuttle Inholder in Rowe," and were nearly all acquired by the new Society.

STAGES AND STAGE-DRIVERS.

Rowe, being nearly four miles from the railroad, has to depend upon Uncle Sam's stage for mail service. The stage driver is always an important person and is on intimate terms with everyone on his route. John Ballou stands pre-eminent in the list of drivers and his route lay between Colrain and Monroe. Another stage connected Colrain and Greenfield. Later he became a merchant tailor with headquarters in the old Ford Hall still standing at the old centre.

Jacob Sherman traversed the same route. He used to leave his house, a short distance above Monroe Bridge in time to be ready to start from Rowe centre for Colrain at four o'clock in the morning with the mail and any passengers who might be going to the metropolis. It was a great event to take the stage in those days. Maturin Ballou of Monroe for 17 years drove the stage across the hills from Greenfield to North Adams. The railroad was completed as far west as the Tunnel in August 1868 and the stage route was shortened to connect Rowe directly with Zoar.

Various additions have since been made to include the small group of farms in the northwestern part of Heath known as Cyrus, and even the western part of Rowe. But the main line remains Zoar to Rowe. The drivers have been Alonzo (Lon) Wilson, Horace Smith, Arthur Haynes, Jude Tuttle, Will Shumway, Charles Bishop, Leon Mishler and Will Upton.

The writer well remembers being driven up the hill to Rowe by Jude Tuttle in his sleigh one winter's day; and the driver to show his skill founded on long experience, undertook without slowing up to thrust a large bunch of letters and papers bound for the western part of the town into the narrow aperture of the wooden mail box, when a sudden jerk of the horse threw him slightly off-balance and every piece fell into the snow.

The railroad early in 1868 was extended west to Shelburne Falls and travellers were compelled to continue their journey by stage to North Adams. A stage left Shelburne Falls and another left North Adams each day shortly after noon, arriving about six o'clock. Stops for change of mail were made at Charlemont, Zoar and Florida. When the railroad reached the eastern end of the terminal the route was shortened and six-horse stages were established. It was an exciting trip as the horses were driven at full trot from the top of the mountain to the foot. The roads were rough, yet no serious accident ever occurred.

Pounds.

There have been town pounds at various places. In September 1785 a committee was chosen "to build a Pound at the Northwest corner of the meeting house Lot 30 feet square with poles," which was the first town pound; but it must have been a temporary affair, for in 1794 it was "voted to build a pound thirty eight

feet square seven feet high from the top of the sills to be framed with sills and plates and sawed (!) rails 12 feet long framed into posts sufficient for said pound be well underpined with stone six inches from the ground on the highest spot and the sills laid level." It was placed on the northwest corner of Ambrose Potter's lot. Mr. Potter was the lowest bidder, was paid £5-10 in neat cattle, and became the pound-keeper. In 1822 the town voted to establish as the pound, "the Barn Yard owned by Solomon Read, near the Meetinghouse." The present stone pound with wooden gate was built in 1835.

BURYING-GROUNDS.

The "center cemetery" or "north yard" as it is now called, contains the oldest gravestones in Rowe. In a deed dated March 13, 1792, from Cornelius Jones, two acres for a meetinghouse and 17 1/2 square rods for a burying ground were given to the town of Rowe. The three oldest grave stones are those of the children of Deacon William Hartwell and his wife Mary Hartwell. All three bear the date 1777 and are Lovell aged 2; Daniel, aged 5; and Mary C., aged 8. The next in point of chronology is the stone of Andrew Nelson who died in 1786 at the age of 31.

In 1802 it was voted "to allow Sherman Langdon ten Dollars for half an acre of land where the Burying place is near his house . . . or three quarters at fifteen Dollars." This represented the actual transfer of the land now known as the West yard, but it was seven years before (1795) that a second sexton was elected to care for this cemetery. Thaddeus Merrill was so honoured. He lived a scant half mile north of the West yard and the gravestone marking the grave of his two-year old son David who died July 8, 1788, is the oldest.

The oldest marked grave in the East yard is that of Henry Babbitt dated November 1828. However, in March 1820, there was an article in the warrant, "to hear the report of the committee for repairing the east burying ground. . . ." At the same meeting it was "voted to choose a Committee of three to invite the People and attend to fencing" the "Burying Grounds." Joseph Chapin was the first sexton for the East yard, in 1829.

On the so-called "upper Noyes Wheeler lot," about three quarters of a mile west of the old Readsboro Road and a little distance east of Deerfield River, a half mile from the Vermont line, are four gravestones. The oldest is that of Thomas Wilcox who died in 1814 at the age of 77.

The Cressy-Peck burying ground on the Old Cressy farm in the southwest part of the town is another private yard.

The burying ground at Monroe Four Corners was just west of Rowe and the oldest gravestone bears the date of 1821 and the initials K. R. and C. R. Nathan Ballou, the writer's grandmother's grandfather, was buried there in 1838.

One of Rowe's old "characters" once lived on the Ebenezer Starr-Browning place midway between the old and new centres, and the story is told that his grave bears this epitaph,—

"Here lies the body of old John Dodge, Who always dodged an evil; But after dodging all he could, He could not dodge the Devil."

In the East yard is a marble headstone erected to Angeline R. Chapin, wife of Lyman T. Chapin, who died in 1853. Inserted in a square cut in the stone, is a daguerreotype of Mrs. Chapin which is in an excellent state of preservation. There is a similar cut but no daguerreotype in a neighboring stone erected in 1858. The writer remembers several of these cut stones in the Whitingham cemetery and one daguerreotype was legible before it was removed. In fact, it was not uncommon to insert these likenesses in gravestones in other parts of New England in the 1850's.

In the West yard we find several stones of especial interest. One is erected to David Barrett who died "at Wms. College 4, April 1825 AE 16."

Another bears the name of Miss Anna Searles who died in 1832 at the age of 60. The stone in its solitary position testifies to the single loneliness of the lady. There are also two very old native stones crudely worked, one with the initials W. T. and the other E. T. Can this be that of William Taylor, the town's first selectman? Another stone in a remote corner is that of "Margaret O'Flaherty Late from Ireland," who died in 1848 at the age of 20. What induced this young girl to migrate to the hill-tops of Rowe? Did she die friendless? We trust not, for though her grave is removed from the others, it is provided with both headstone and footstone.

Postmasters.

Following is a list of the postmasters who have served at Rowe, from the establishment of the office to the present time, together with the dates of their appointment,—

| Samuel H. Reed |
|------------------------|
| Samuel H. Reed |
| John Ballou |
| Edward Wright |
| George M. Ballou |
| Edmund E. Amidon |
| Benjamin T. Henry |
| Gilbert A. Christie |
| Mrs. Grace G. Stanford |
| |

| January 27, 1820 |
|------------------|
| April 27, 1837 |
| March 31, 1854 |
| March 16, 1868 |
| March 17, 1873 |
| March 25, 1875 |
| July 21, 1884 |
| October 8, 1914 |
| July 13, 1917 |
| |

The above names and dates were furnished by the U. S. Post Office Department, but tradition would add the names of Solomon Reed, Solomon R. Drury, and John C. Drury. The post office was at the old center until 1874 or 1875 when it was removed to the village.

The representatives to the General Court for Rowe have been as follows,—

| | • | | |
|------|------------------|------|------------------|
| 1831 | Col. Noah Wells | 1842 | Ebenezer Starr |
| 1832 | Ebenezer Merrill | 1843 | Samuel H. Reed |
| 1833 | Col. Noah Wells | 1846 | Solomon R. Drury |
| 1835 | Samuel H. Reed | 1848 | Solomon Amidon |
| 1836 | Samuel H. Reed | 1851 | Col. Noah Wells |
| 1837 | Moses Gleason | 1852 | Col. Noah Wells |
| 1839 | Solomon Reed | 1853 | John C. Drury |
| 1841 | William Taylor | 1854 | Col. Noah Wells |
| | | | |

In the other years, Rowe sent no representative. In 1857, the state was apportioned under the revised constitution, with one representative for 850 votes, and the district included besides Rowe, — Buckland, Charlemont, Heath and Monroe. From Rowe, E. H. Stamford represented the district in 1861; Rev. Samuel P. Everett in 1866 and again in 1871; Veniah M. Porter in 1881 and 1882; Charles B. Newell in 1891; and Henry D. Wright in 1912, 1913 and 1914.

CHAPTER VIII.

John Rowe.

"We shall never be all of one mind in our political principles. I desire no more candour from those who differ from me, than I ever have been, and ever shall be ready to shew to them."

Thomas Hutchinson.

We have seen in a previous chapter that the Legislature bestowed upon the town in 1785, the name, not of Exeter as was asked for by the petitioners, but of Rowe, in all probability in honor of John Rowe, a well-to-do Boston merchant and man of affairs.

John Rowe was born in Exeter, England, November 27, 1715, the oldest of the eleven children of Joseph and Mary Rowe. Three of the sons came to America, John, Jacob and William Syntol. John must have come over when a young man, as in 1736 he purchased a warehouse on Long Wharf, from which fact by the way, we infer that he brought some means with him. William Syntol came in 1749 or 1750 to visit his brothers and then sailed to Oporto. Jacob came seven years after John, later went to Quebec where he became assistant commissary general; and after John's death returned to Boston. Jacob's descendants, through his son John, are the only members of the family in America today.

John Rowe in 1743 married Hannah Speakman, a beautiful and accomplished woman, whose sister married Ralph Inman, the Cambridge Loyalist. The Rowes were childless, but their house was often filled with young people, — Mrs. Rowe's nephews, the Speakmans and Inmans, her nieces the Inmans and her cousin John Inman. They adopted Mrs. Rowe's niece, Susanna Inman. Susanna or

"Sukey" as she was called by her uncle John, married September 1, 1772, at the age of eighteen, Captain John Linzee, then in command of the British warship Beaver. Three days after the wedding Captain Linzee sailed away with his bride, not to return until the outbreak of the Revolution. On Easter Sunday, April 16. 1775 they entered Boston harbor and the Linzees with their first-born at once were welcomed to the home of the Rowes. April 19, 1775, John Rowe records in his diary: "Capt. Linzee and Capt. Collins in two small armed vessels were ordered to bring off the troops to Boston, but Lord Percy and General Smith thought proper to encamp on Bunker Hill this night." This, of course, refers to the disastrous expedition of the British to Concord and the ignominious retreat to Charlestown. Mrs. Linzee and her child remained with the Rowes until January 1776 and Captain Linzee visited them frequently. After Sukey Inman's marriage John Rowe adopted Jack, son of his brother Jacob who was then at Quebec.

Rowe became one of the principal merchants of Boston. His imported merchandise included such varied articles as salt, teas, wines, silk stockings, Spanish silk, ribbons, linens and woolens. He was one of the Proprietors of Long Wharf, and today Rowe's Wharf His ships crossed the ocean and bears his name. entered the coastwise trade. He was part owner of one of the ships which brought over the tea destined to be thrown into the harbor, and in his diary he records: "I would rather have lost five hundred Guineas than Bruce should have taken any of this Tea on board his Ship." There is a tradition that Rowe sat on the platform with Samuel Adams in the Old South Meeting House on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773, and uttered the prophecy, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt

water;" but his diary records a different story. "Dec. 16. I being a little Unwell staid at home all Day and all the evening. . . . A number of People appearing in Indian Dresses went on board the three Ships Hall, Bruce and Coffin, they opened the Hatches, hoisted out the Tea and flung it overboard — this might I believe have been prevented. I am sincerely sorry for the Event. Tis said near two thousand People were present at this affair."

He became the owner of considerable property. This included his residence on Pond Lane, now Bedford Street, where he lived until his death, February 17, 1787, and where his widow remained until her death in 1805. He owned various houses and lots in other parts of Boston and an estate in Milton. He also owned property in Dighton, Plymouth, Malden, Medford, Gloucester, Stoughton, Grafton, Hardwick, Deerfield, Shelburne, and also in Hartford and Woodstock, Connecticut. The Massachusetts Centinel, in noting his death, called him "an eminent merchant of this place." John Adams listed him among the very rich men, and one of those who had acquired wealth by his own industry, — unlike Hancock, Bowdoin, and Pitts, who had acquired it by marriage or descent.

His biographer describes Rowe's political sentiments as those of a moderate. We may be sure that he was public spirited. He served on many committees appointed by the town or by merchants to set forth the grievances of the Colony. While not a leader among the Sons of Liberty, he enjoyed the full confidence of his fellow citizens, and we find his name linked with those of such red-blooded patriots as Samuel Adams, John Hancock and James Otis. In fact it was upon the motion of Samuel Adams that he was chosen a Representative to the General Court in 1766. The follow-

ing year he was a selectman with John Hancock and Samuel Sewall.

The crisis was rapidly approaching, and John Rowe in common with most of the Boston merchants was thinking of his property. Although he had held various offices, he had met defeat at the hands of Otis, Samuel Adams, Hancock and Cushing. After his defeat in 1767, he was not afterwards a candidate for Representative for thirteen years. We give little weight to any theory that personal pique may have actuated his motives, but it is natural for a man of property to be repelled by the thought of forcible resistance to the established government. Nevertheless, Rowe was not a Loyalist. He endeavored to steer a middle course. His sympathies for the most part were with his countrymen, yet he could not forget as Hancock did, his large property investments. To do him justice, we must put ourselves back, in imagination, into the circumstances amid which his opinions were formed. He could not foresee the subsequent events; and although we may heartily disapprove of his lack of action, yet to paint a true picture we must depict John Rowe as a man of high character and real patriotism.

The British evacuated Boston March 17, 1776. Two days later Rowe records: "Gen¹ Washington and his Retinue were in Town yesterday, I did not hear of it otherwise should have paid my Respects and waited on him." A few days later he sent an invitation to Washington to dine and received "a very Polite Answer." Through this trying period Rowe attended town meetings faithfully and in 1780 he was again chosen a Representative, which office he retained until 1784. In Fleet's Almanack and Register for 1787 we find the following: "J. Rowe Esq obt 17th Feb 1787 Etat anae

— 72 — Gratitude demands a Tear." Here we find the key, — the General Court after his last term was ended, out of gratitude named the new township in the northwestern part of the State for one of Boston's true benefactors.

CHAPTER IX.

Rowe's Military History.

"Every particle of historical truth is precious."

Benjamin Church.

During the Revolutionary War, Rowe was known as Myrifield Plantation; and the soldiers who enlisted usually spelled it Merryfield. In response to the alarm of April 19, 1775, two companies of minute-men set out for Boston on April 21st., one composed entirely of Myrifield citizens under Capt. Gideon Chapin, and one recruited from Charlemont, Shelburne and Myrifield under Capt. Oliver Avery of Charlemont. August 14, 1777 a detachment from the Myrifield company under Sergeant Nathaniel Corbet marched to Bennington, probably by way of Readsboro. Outside of these two brief "campaigns," the records of Myrifieldians are scattered. Several were at Valley Forge. and tradition has it that one was a member of Washington's Body-guard.* Aaron Barr was the first man killed at Bunker Hill. Rev. Cornelius Jones is said to have borne arms until the surrender of Burgoyne. Some were in the northern campaign around Ticonderoga.

The seventeen volumes compiled by the State give their records in some detail and below we list the names only.

Aaron Barr (Burr) Darius Barr Moses Barr Thomas Bartlett Alexander Teakels Dependence Thayer Craft Davice Ezekiel Davice

^{*} The name of Jonathan Cressy is not mentioned in the State Archives, but Mrs. Peck states that he was for three years in Washington's Body-guard.

George Bennet Bartholomew Bartlett Benjamin Brown Consider Brown Matthew Brown Robert Brown Charles Cambell Gad Chapen Shadrach Chapen Abner Chapen Gideon Chapen Jesse Collis (?) Eldad Corbet Nathaniel Corbet Andrew McNitt John McNitt (?) Samuel Moore Timothy Nolton Nathaniel Parker Leonard Pike Leonard Pique Caleb Robinson Thomas Shearman Jacob Streeter William Stel (Steel) Charles Stewart John Taylor Humphrey Taylor William Taylor John Gill's address is "Maryfield."

Theodorus Doty George Gaby Josiah Gilbert John Gill (?) John Gilley Aaron Gleason Asa Gleason Henry Gleason Jonas Gleason Jonathan Gleason William Hartwell James Howard Cornelius Jones Patrick King Jonathan Lamb William Lamb Joseph Thomas Samuel Tower Nathan Wheeler Jonathan Whight Timothy Whight Jonathan White David Wier Henry Willson Noah Willson Henry Wilson Malachi Wilson Michael Wilson David Wire

In a number of cases apparently the same name is spelled differently. Eldad Corbet is listed in four different places; there is a Gad Chapen and a Gad Chapin. David Wier and David Wire probably are one and the same. Henry Willson was a lad of 18; perhaps Henry Wilson was our good deacon who was one of the town fathers ten years later. Timothy Whight may be Timothy White. John McNitt had no address against his name but he was in the same company with Andrew McNitt and a John McNitt lived on the north road to Readsborough.

There are available no good records of the War of 1812, or Madison's War as it was then called and should be so named today. In September 1814, orders were issued for calling out the militia of the state for the defence of the sea-coast. October 6, 1814 the town of Rowe voted "to pay the Expense of the Waggons for Transporting the Soldiers, by the Town"... and "to raise one Hundred and thirty Dollars to defray the expense of the detached Militia who have been called into service." History does not enlighten us as to the names of those who were so called.

Rowe furnished 65 men in the Civil War (1861-1865) or three more than her quota. The list includes the following:—

Emory P. Andrews James M. Allen William Bemis Abel C. Bliss Carpenter Bliss Waitstill Bliss J. Franklin Brown Newton L. Brown Reuel Bullard Everett E. Cressey George Cressey Rodolphus D. Fish John Fitzgerald Adoniram J. Gleason J. H. Harrington Charles H. Hathaway John W. Haynes David Henry Hiland H. Hicks George R. Jeffords William Kelley George R. King John Leonard Judson Lovely William Lynet Thomas Love

Jasper C. Miller Houghton Paine James H. Paine Nathaniel R. Rice Albert Scott Charles H. Scott Thomas L. Scott Lyman Scott Russell Sears Russell Stafford Chauncey Stafford, Jr. Luther Stafford Joseph A. Sibley Philo Sibley, Jr. Leroy S. Stanford E. M. Stephens Royal W. Stone Amos Temple Andrew Thorrington George A. Wilcox Luman Wilcox Alonzo M. Wilson Richard Woffenden Henry C. Wright R. M. Wilson

In the Spanish War (1898) Rowe was not directly represented. The town's sole claim rests in Timothy Kiley of Montague who enlisted as a volunteer at Miller's Falls, May 3, 1898, in Company E. 2nd Regiment. He was not discharged until the following November, but was absent on sick leave; and the writer remembers riding past his father's house (now owned by Adelbert Truesdell) in August of that year, and on hearing the strains of "Johnny Comes Marching Home," young Kiley hobbled to the door to wave his acknowledgment of the serenade.

In the spring of 1922 a memorial was built in front of the town hall to those who saw service in the Great War (1917-1918). The bronze tablet contains these names, -

Harry Blakeslee Howard Blakeslee Edward Boulli Leon Brown Herbert Carroll John Deane Louis Farley Levi Gamache

Edward Henderson Harry Hunt

Sylvester Kidd (killed) Clifford Laplant Oscar Larsen Austin Liese Cyrus Liese Howard Liese Hugh Murphy Arthur Sartori Harry Woffenden

The inscription reads, —

"The right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts."

In the early days the town maintained a militia company. The first officers were: Captain, N. Corbett; 1st Lieutenant, A. Chapin; 2nd Lieutenant, N. Merrill. The succeeding captains have been Paul Thayer, John Wells, Pardon Haynes, Zebulon Benton, Jonathan Marsh, Stephen Brown, James Brown, Solomon Reed, Noah Wells, Samuel H. Reed, John Taylor, William Taylor, M. Shumway, S. Wheeler, J. W. Wheeler and John Thomas.

CHAPTER X.

OLD PEOPLE AND TRADITIONS.

"Which we have heard and known and our fathers have told us."

Psalm 78.

The name of Deacon Archibald Thomas stands out as second only to that of Cornelius Jones in the old Plantation days. He was a deacon in Rev. Mr. Morehead's First Church in Boston when the Reverend Mr. Jones purchased this tract at the auction in 1762 at the Royal Exchange Tavern in King Street, and perhaps it was on this occasion that these two gospel lovers met each other. Not long after 1770 Deacon Thomas took his family into the barren wilds of the new Township No. 10 from Colrain where he had had two children born in 1769 and 1770. We see his hand in the petitions for incorporation sent to the General Court in 1782 and 1783, the latter proving successful. He was the town's first constable and later held various offices. Mr. Thomas and Jonas Gleason were the first deacons in Rowe. He died in 1793 in his 86th year. Capt. William Taylor was one of the Worcester county men to follow Cornelius Jones in the early days of the settlement, probably before 1770. In March 1786 the town voted to allow "Capt. Willm Taylor for his extraordinary services in the (year) 1785 for the Town 13/6 To Mr. Isaac Langdon do 15/o Moses Streeter do 12/o."

Tradition has it that Eldad Corbet was the first pioneer to follow Cornelius Jones. He took up land a short distance north of the subsequent location of the meeting house, and either he or Capt. Nathaniel Corbet built the old stone house. We find him a highway surveyor in 1785.

Little is known of Henry Wilson outside of the fact that he was a deacon in the early days. In January 1786 the town allowed him £2-0-8 "for services which he has done for the Town in the course of seven years past." He held various offices including chairman of the selectmen from 1792 to 1794 and of the school committee.

It is difficult to state who was the first physician in Rowe. Dr. I. Ward Clary was an early settler and he is mentioned in March 1786 in the description of the road east of the meeting house. He had children born in Rowe in 1785 and 1789. He was elected town clerk in 1788. Dr. Heaton is mentioned in March 1787 as living a short distance north of the meeting house. Dr. Pardon Haynes was elected hogrief in 1790. Can it be that this region supported three doctors? Mrs. Archibald Thomas antedated them all, if the brewing of herbs is considered the work of a medical practitioner. As a testimony to her skill, she lived to be 106. Her neighbor Judah Goodspeed, who dwelt south of Adams Mountain, lived so long (to the age of 101), that he was wont to say, "God has forgotten me."

Pardon Haynes was the town physician for many years, namely from about 1790 to 1832. In the seating of the meeting house in 1820 he was rated second only to Rev. Preserved Smith. The town in 1825 allowed only a part of his bill of \$81.87 "for doctoring" various families in the town and he was obliged to enter suit in order to collect the whole. He was born in New London, Conn. in 1762 and when 15, came with his father to Hoosac. He studied medicine with a brother; and after a short practice in Hebron, N. Y. he came to Rowe where he built up a large practice. His travelling was mostly by horseback and in winter occasionally on snow-shoes; and many tales are told of his nar-

row escapes when fording the Deerfield or the like. Under commissions from Governors John Hancock and Samuel Adams he commanded the military company and had the best-disciplined company in Gen. Mattoon's regiment. We must not confuse old Doctor Haynes with his son Pardon Haynes who was a practical joker. The son lived on the Canedy farm on the County Road (be careful of using this term loosely for more than one road was thus called in the old records). Often preferring to work than to attend church, the younger Haynes one Sunday perceived his neighbor Josiah Carpenter approaching on his way to the sanctuary. Being in the potato patch, he had no time to dodge behind the house, but sought a hiding place in a hogshead. Now his brother Anson Haynes who was known to be a little "queer," took in the situation and quietly came up and set the hogshead rolling down hill. The sequel may be left to the reader's imagination. Pardon Haynes liked to play jokes on the other fellow. It seems that Abijah Burnap was elected to the school committee which was an agreeable job, all except travelling to obtain new teachers, for he had no team. He was heard to complain on this score and thought that some of his neighbors might lend him a horse. One morning he found a horse of wood near his door with tail and mane made of small spruce trees. Grandma Grundy says that it was the work of "that Pardon Havnes."

Dr. Humphrey Gould came to Rowe as successor to Dr. Haynes, whose daughter he married. He also lived on the farm now owned by Edward Wright and his daughter, the latter married. The old inhabitants remember Dr. Gould as "a fine courtly man, well educated, a good neighbor," and a constant attendant at church. He was absent-minded and of course this led

to many ludicrous mistakes. He was usually the first one to bring out his sleigh, after the first fall of snow. The writer's grandmother was born in Monroe in 1833 and Dr. Gould assisted on that occasion. Amzi Langdon one day came for the doctor in great haste and said that the well-sweep had fallen on his wife and knocked her sensible! Dr. Gould died in 1874 at the ripe age of 77.

The Langdons cannot be passed by without mentioning Gideon Langdon, a name which strikes the ear as most euphonious. All that is left of his homestead is a cellar-hole with the remains of a once massive chimney. His was the next house north of Preserved Smith's on the old Readsboro road. The late Joseph A. Sibley, one-time blacksmith and a good friend of the writer, used to point out the abandoned farms along this once populous road; and pointing to this one said, "When a boy I often used to toast my shins in front of Mrs. Langdon's fire." One Monday morning Gideon Langdon and his wife drove to church "all dressed up in their Sunday best," and did not discover their mistake until they saw the usual week-day activities around the store.

Deacon John Thomas, the grandson of Deacon Archibald Thomas, was born in Rowe in 1774 and lived to the good old age of 86. It is said that he did not attend school until he was fourteen, so that he had to study hard to make up and ever after took an interest in local education. He taught the north school when there were many scholars, was captain in the militia, selectman and town clerk, superintendent of schools, and what he probably desired to be remembered chiefly for, was superintendent of the Sabbath School in the Church. His old two-story house still stands in the north part of the town on the Potter-Porter cross road,

defying the winter winds in its exposed position. A later tenant once remarked, "Yes, it is a real sightly spot."

Before giving our attention to the later worthies, it might be of interest to touch upon the early lav-out of the town. Cornelius Jones held on to what is now known as the Wells-Ford farm, a half-mile east of the meeting house, and his mowing lots were perhaps the nearest to level land of any in town. Gideon and Shadrach Chapin took land east of him. William and John Taylor located north of them and Matthew Barr to the northeast bordering on "No. 9" in Heath. Artemas Ward settled to the southward of the centre and he became the first miller. Abijah, Levi, Jedediah and Jonathan also settled in the neighborhood of Factory Village. Deacon Jonas Gleason settled west of the centre and Aaron Gleason to the east of the Chapins towards the Green and Walker Grant. Later, in 1794, Deacon Gleason built the house since occupied by David Henry and George Stanford. John Adams settled on the southwestern slope of Adams Mountain. An old story has it that nearer the top and on the northeast slope is springy land which sends up a mist before stormy weather, and neighbors would say, "Old John is putting on his night-cap, a storm is brewing." John Adams died in 1813 at the age of 93. Dr. Clary lived between Jones and the meeting house. Reuben Clark lived on the Sanford-Legate-Newell place this side of the top of the hill leading down to Monroe Bridge, but soon moved down onto the Zoar road. Obed Foote is said to have built the first two-story house in town near Cornelius Jones. He sold his farm to Samuel Wells in 1791 when he left town. bets lived a short distance north of the meeting house, in the old stone house. For some years the town devel-

oped more rapidly to the east and north of the centre. John Henry Haynes was born in Rowe in 1849, the son of John W. and Emily Taylor Haynes. He grew up on his father's farm, attending the district school, and entered Drury Academy in North Adams in 1868 where he graduated in 1872. He then entered Williams College and took his degree in 1876. Thereafter he served as principal of the Williamstown High School for four years. After a brief period in South Hadley Falls, he took charge of an exploratory expedition to Crete; but owing to Turkish opposition, was forced to remain in Constantinople, where he acted as tutor in Robert College. Later he taught in a small College in Syria. In 1888 he became business manager of the first and second archeological expeditions under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. He was United States Consul at Bagdad from 1888 to 1892; but that for which he is best remembered is his directorship of the Nippur expeditions from 1893 to 1895 and from 1899 to 1900. He returned to North Adams where he lived quietly until his death, June 29, 1910. Many scientific men paid tributes to this well-known archeologist, and contributed to the cost of his monument which is a replica of the black obelisk of Shalmaneser who lived in Babylonia in 850 B. C.

Another graduate of Williams College was John Wells. Born on the old Wells farm in Rowe which once was the Cornelius Jones homestead, he attended the centre school and later took his bachelor's degree at Williams College in 1838, when he delivered the valedictory address. After a short period of teaching, he studied law in the Greenfield office of his uncle Daniel Wells and at the Harvard Law School. He then practised law in Chicopee with George M. Stearns and with Judge A. L. Soule in Springfield. He represented

Chicopee in the Legislature in 1849, 1851 and 1857. When the probate and insolvency judgeships were united the following year, John Wells was appointed to the position. He attended the Chicago Convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860 as an alternate delegate, and in 1864 he was a Presidential elector. The next year he was returned to the Legislature, but the following year was defeated as a result of his courageous stand on the question of volunteer bounties. His ambition, however, was achieved by his selection in 1866 for the State Supreme Court, a choice which pleased the entire bar of western Massachusetts.

As a judge he was just and considerate although perhaps not brilliant. To quote an associate, — "His opinions contain few dicta, which as has often happened to many showy judges, . . . will have hereafter to be denied, qualified or explained." Judge Wells was one of the founders of the Chicopee Unitarian Church, for many years superintendent of the Sunday School and leader in the choir. He was president of the old Cabot bank, treasurer of the Cabot and West Springfield bridge, president of the American Unitarian and of the Williams College Alumni associations.

The Amidons came to Rowe from Readsboro. Their first house lot was southeast of the town pound and on the crest of the knoll, and the cellar-hole is still to be seen. A pretty jingle goes like this, — Amidon Roger, Amidon Joseph, Amidon Daniel D., Amidon Harry, Amidon Elbert, Amidon Edmund E. The latter, known to all as Uncle Ed, injured his leg during logging operations so he kept the store from 1852. He had previously worked in the saw-mill, and in 1849 turned out wooden bowls which were forwarded to James Ford in California for the purpose of "washing" gold.

Jim Zeland was an "itinerant cobbler" going from

house to house with his kit of tools and probably carrying a few lasts in a leather apron slung over his back. We can picture the barefoot boy standing on the kitchen floor or on a paper having the shape of his foot outlined with charcoal. The cobbler measured the long slender foot of Mrs. Amidon three times, then held up the string and said, "Ah-mazing!"

The tailoress followed the cobbler, with goose, buckram and shears, cutting and making the garments of homespun. Prudy Fellows is remembered as one who "went around sewing," and an earlier tailoress was Jemima Middleditch who lived "over west." She received an offer of marriage from a widower with several children; and in her indecision as to the wisdom of accepting, she sought outside advice. She was told that if she refused, she would probably regret it, and if she accepted the result would be similar; so she chose the latter course with the conclusion that if regrets were inevitable, it were better to have help in bearing them.

Lucinda Bullard was born in Rowe, March 17, 1835 in the picturesque old stone house which was an object of interest for many years after the family moved away from it to another farm and it gradually fell to ruins. It was built entirely of field stone and dates from the latter part of the eighteenth century at which time such a structure was rare indeed. Her girlhood was spent in Rowe and she had only the advantages of a district school education, but she was a natural student and was always studying as long as she lived. She taught herself Latin and Botany after she reached middle life, and was especially keen in mathematics. As was the custom of the bright village girls, she taught school while still very young and was very successful. At nineteen, she was married in the stone

house to Stephen J. Ballou (grandson of Nathan the pioneer) of Monroe and went there for a time to live with his parents. Later, they moved to Eastern Massachusetts where her husband engaged in various business enterprises. He was never a robust man and died at the age of forty-six. To him, and to their three children, she was a devoted wife and mother. After his death, she took up the study of medicine and became a successful homeopathic physician until ill health came upon her and she passed away at the age of fifty-four. She had great strength of character, an active and fearless mind, and a tender and loving heart. Her life held many disappointments and much sorrow, but she rose above all and was always brave, strong, and hopeful. Besides the closer relationships, she was a devoted daughter to her husband's parents in their old age, and the true and valued friend of her patients. In the days when it took courage to stand for temperance principles she was one of their staunchest supporters, and never allowed self-interest to silence her voice or mar her influence. She had much musical talent and was for years the leading singer in Concord where she lived, though she never had the time or money to cultivate her voice as she longed to do. A splendid type of strong, intelligent, conscientious woman — Rowe may well be proud of her as a daughter.

No history of Rowe would be complete without a sketch of the centennial celebration in 1885. Although incorporated in February 1785, the town chose to celebrate at a more propitious season and selected August 26th. A cash appropriation of one hundred dollars was made at the March town meeting and the arrangements were entrusted to a committee consisting of J. Frank Brown, chairman; J. Herbert Starr, Secretary

and Treasurer; Christopher C. Wheaton, Assistant Secretary; Charles Demons, E. E. Amidon, Obed Peck, R. J. Smith, Reuel Bullard and David Henry. Everybody assembled at the old centre near Ford Hall and the procession headed by Chief Marshal J. F. Brown with five aids and the Colrain Band, marched to the grove on the Robert Wells farm. A large flag bearing the word "Welcome" was stretched above the road, a flag was flying from a staff at the grove, and behind the speakers' stand, in letters of evergreen, was the motto, "Love and good-will to all." Probably fifteen hundred people were here assembled.

A salute was fired at the grove at ten o'clock to announce the commencement of the exercises. After a prayer by Rev. Jacob Davis of Rowe, J. H. Starr, the President of the Day extended a hearty greeting to all, and then introduced Hon. Silas Bullard of Menasha, Wisconsin, as the historian of the day. This address was followed by vocal music furnished by a young male quartette who were spending their vacation in Rowe, and then all adjourned for dinner. Some 250 not having lunch baskets were accommodated by a Charlemont caterer in Ford Hall. The afternoon program included a Traditional Address by Percy F. Bicknell, a recent graduate of Williams College and son of Rowe's Unitarian minister, a poem by Mrs. Georgia A. Peck of Westfield, some brief remarks from Rev. Russell A. Ballou of Boston and toasts and responses with Benjamin T. Henry acting as toast-master. Cordial greetings and old-time hospitality marked the day throughout.

The evening was given over to a ball in Ford Hall with John S. Hunt as Floor Manager, assisted by five aids, Charles A. Brown, Alfred Reed, Fred L. Tyler, Joseph A. Sibley and Ashton Reed.

The first store was at the old center probably as early as 1790. It was kept by one Ransom and was continued by William Langdon. Later the Tuttles built a large building for mercantile purposes, a part of which today is known as Ford Hall. In this have traded Langdon & Bradley, Olds, Barrett & Hall, Reed & Chandler, and Ruel Darling. In 1832 we find S. and S. H. Reed assessed \$800, on their "Store Potash and Barn," \$75. on two acres of land, and \$2500. on "stock in trade." Bearing in mind the greater purchasing power of the dollar in those times, that must have been a substantial amount of goods in stock. In 1836 Samuel Reed alone is assessed and the following year the firm becomes Reed and Drury. John Ballou was the last to keep a store there probably as late as 1863 and he died in 1888. The Atlas of 1871 shows his "merchant tailor "shop in "Fords Hall" at the old centre.

Cyrus Ballou about 1845 came to Rowe from Whitingham where he had been connected with that unsuccessful undertaking known as the "Farmers Interest." He was probably the first to keep a store at the new centre, but he soon sold out to E. E. Amidon in 1852 and took to farming, having purchased the Adams property. Benjamin T. Henry bought out Uncle Ed Amidon in 1882, and he in turn sold out to George Arthur Rice in 1917.

The question as to when the present centre of the town supplanted the old centre is an interesting one. The centre schoolhouse was moved down the hill to its present location in the fall of 1872. August 9, 1873 the town meeting was held in this centre schoolhouse and it was then "voted that the town hold no more meetings in any Schoolhouse." The meeting on August 22, 1873 accordingly was held in the "Union Hall in

Factory Village in said Rowe." The Pond Road was built in 1873 and the road to Mrs. Nancy Brown's in 1874, and the road easterly from the latter point across the brook to Edward Wright's was discontinued the same year, so that the old centre became a memory of the past.

The old inhabitants remember the flood rains of October 1869. In that year the newly-built covered bridge across the Deerfield above Zoar went out, and one Rowe schoolmistress who was teaching in Florida was obliged for several months to walk up the track nearly to the Tunnel and there be ferried across. The mill below Charles King's on the road to Zoar was swept away, together with owner Hyde and his wife, who were endeavoring to save the machinery. A special town meeting was held November 2, 1869 to borrow \$1,000 to repair the roads and bridges which had been "damaged by the heavy rains."

In 1901 the Monroe bridge across the Deerfield was carried away and the present structure was built the following year. A big wind February 2, 1876 damaged seventeen barns and one house. John Browning's house and barn were consumed by fire three weeks later.

The Silk tragedy was so recent that it is well remembered. Michael Silk, an old veteran of the Civil War, for many years made a living by cutting timber. He once built a log cabin near the spring at the southwestern base of Adams Mountain, but in recent years he lived in a hut near Pelham Brook on the road to Zoar. Although a recluse and given to an occasional spree at North Adams, he was looked upon favorably as a hardworking wood-chopper with money laid by for a rainy day. Poor health overtook him in the last years of his life; and in February 1921, encouraged by

the selectmen, he went to live with his brother Thomas in a lonely shack in Stephenstown, New York. Now Michael was eighty-one and his brother was seventy-five, yet within a day or two a dispute arose over some money and titles to woodlots held by Michael; and the brothers fought to a finish; first with fists and then with sticks of hickory. Michael fell and expired. Thomas the survivor was shortly taken into custody, and after due trial was sent to prison, where he has since died.

Ambrose Potter had the first public-house (near where Edward Wright now lives) as early as 1780. (Pardon Havnes, the old doctor, built the Wright house and the Frank Brown house south of it about 1800). Ezra Tuttle kept an inn at the old center about 1806 and was followed by Thomas Riddle. On the road east, the Langdons and others kept taverns. At Zoar, E. S. Hawks opened a tavern about 1812 in the ell of the Hawks-Morrison house three-quarters of a mile east of Zoar station, which he continued for over 30 years. Then there was no public-house until 1860, when H. M. Livermore opened an inn, store and post office, about where the talc mill was later located, but kept these only a few years. S. D. Negus, I. D. Hawks, J. C. Bryant, Cressy, and Miller have carried on merchandising at Zoar. At Hoosac Tunnel, the Hoosac Tunnel House flourished in the last of the stage coach days.

CHAPTER XI.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

"Make your own sugar, and send not to the Indies for it."
Old Farmer's Almanack.

In this twentieth century with its ever increasing urban populations and its decline in the rural communities, it is difficult to realize the mad desire for land one hundred and twenty-five years ago. A typical example of this is that of the Ballous* who left Richmond, New Hampshire, itself a small community, to take up land and clear the forests in that section which was then the western part of Rowe, and is now the township of Monroe. Our ancestors were tough as well as aggressive. The men could hew beams and lay stone-walls; the women could spin and weave and bring up large families.

The rise of the tide to New England hilltops seems to have reached the full about 1830 to 1845. In 1830 the population of Rowe was 716. In the election of 1816 there were 135 ballots cast. This number had increased to 138 in 1832; 149 in 1840; and to 162 in 1844, the high-water mark. (See Appendix B.)

Barber's Historical Collections published in 1839 mentions four meeting houses in Rowe and places the population at 688. In 1837 there were 302 Saxony, 1630 merino, and 364 of other kinds of sheep, producing wool to the value of \$4,249.80

Nason's Gazeteer of 1874 mentions a chair and a basket factory but describes the chief industries as "farming and lumbering." There were then 92 farms. "The number of sheep in 1865 was 1818 which in 1872 had fallen to 412." In 1920 there were only 110 sheep

^{*} Nathan Ballou was the author's great-great-grandfather.

of all kinds. The town had 109 dwelling-houses, three churches and seven schoolhouses in 1872. In 1920 there were 120 dwelling-houses, two churches and five schoolhouses of which but four were in full use.

Before the advent of the railroad in 1868 and the completion of Hoosac Tunnel in 1875 communication with the outside world was difficult. The road to Boston led through Charlemont and Shelburne to Deerfield, and thence by way of Montague, Shutesbury, New Salem, Petersham, Templeton, Westminster, Lancaster, etc., or by way of Sunderland, Amherst, Shutesbury, New Salem, Petersham, Oakham, Rutland, Holden, Shrewsbury, Marlborough, etc., according to Ames' Almanac for 1765.

The "Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike" was built in 1800 through the towns of Athol, Orange, Wendell, Erving to Greenfield. The "Second Massachusetts Turnpike," or "Col. White's Turnpike Road across Hoosack Mountain" as it was written in the Rowe records, was incorporated in 1797 to build from the west line of Charlemont to the west foot of Hoosac Mountain and became the route for several of the stages from Boston to Albany. The first wagon road over Hoosac Mountain was built probably in 1793, but there must have been a wagon road from Charlemont to Deerfield many years previous. Sheldon records the selection of a committee of Deerfield citizens in 1752 "to look out and mark a Rhode to Charlemont, also to Hunt's town, and to clear the Roads of logs and bushes fit for a Riding Rhode."

Loammi Baldwin, in his time a high authority in construction engineering, advanced the idea of a canal running the length of Massachusetts and using the Millers and Deerfield Rivers. He would bore a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain at a cost of a million dol-

lars! Various surveys were made and plans suggested, but the railroad era had dawned before a decision had been made. In 1848 a charter was asked for to build a railroad from Greenfield to Williamstown by one of two routes, one by a tunnel through Hoosac Mountain, the other following the Deerfield through Readsboro, Stamford and Clarksburg. The state was not ready, however, and granted the petitioners permission to build west only to Shelburne Falls.

Western migration had serious effect on the agricultural districts in the East. The total population of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, in 1800 was 50,000. In 1820 it amounted to 792,000 and by 1840 it had increased to 2,967,000. Western soil is much richer and New England hill towns have found it difficult to compete. Then too, the increase in mills and factories in the valley towns has drawn from Rowe's younger generations. North Adams, Shelburne Falls, Greenfield, Deerfield, Millers Falls, Athol, Orange, Northampton and Springfield, all are now the homes of Rowe's sons and daughters.

One hundred years ago, Rowe was largely self-supporting and economically independent. Here was produced practically all the necessary food, wool for clothing, leather for shoes, lumber for building. Sugar was extracted from sugar maples. Salt and iron implements were purchased with the surplus produce. There was little cash and trade was a system of barter. (See Appendix C.)

As the town was far from the metropolis, modern inventions were slow to come into use. The cradle scythe, for instance, was invented in 1803 but it was not used in Rowe until some years later. Nearly every part of the work of the farm except plowing, harrow-

ing and drawing heavy loads, was done by hand, that is with tools handled by human muscles. Small grain was sown broadcast, reaped with a cradle, and threshed with a flail. Hay was mown with a scythe (usually by several mowers advancing in echelon formation), raked and pitched by hand. The cast-iron plow was invented in 1797 but was not in general use in this country until 1825. A list of farming tools in 1800 would probably include the clumsy plow with wrought-iron share, wooden mold-board, and heavy beam and handles; the wooden rake and wooden fork; the scythe, sickle and flail. It required great strength to use these primitive tools, and one often hears nowadays that our grandfathers were stronger than those of the present generation.

The first mowing machine was patented in 1831 but did not come into general use for many years. In the Beers' Atlas of Franklin County in 1871, James M. Ford of Rowe is put down as the agent for Patent Sugar Evaporators, "Totman's Horse Power and Wood Mill," and "Whittemore, Belcher and Company's Agricultural Implements." A few of Walter A. Wood's machines have come onto Rowe farms. These have been manufactured since 1851 in the neighboring town of Hoosac Falls, N. Y. Western products including such makes as Adriance, Deering and McCormick, are also well known.

In the Atlas of 1871, E. E. Amidon is described as a "Dealer in Dry Goods, Groceries, Hardware, Crockery, Women's and Children's Boots and Shoes, Kerosene Oil and all its Fixtures, and all goods usually found in a country store." George Browning is described as a "Harness Manufacturer;" David Henry is a "Manufacturer and Dealer in Lumber, Flour, Feed and Meal;" and H. A. Kendrick is a

"Manufacturer and Dealer in all kinds of Lumber, Chair Stock, Broom Handles, etc."

The railroad from Fitchburg to Greenfield (Vermont and Massachusetts R. R.) was opened in April 1849. In 1847 Rowe citizens first began to talk of a railroad up the Deerfield valley through Zoar. The Troy and Greenfield charter was granted in 1848 and the company organized the following year. The section from North Adams to the State Line, about six miles in length, was opened in 1859 and the section from the Tunnel to Greenfield in 1868. Rowe in common with her neighbors, had been asked to contribute to the expense of construction, but she declined. The Zoar station which is a scant four miles from the Rowe postoffice is really the port of entry and departure for the Romans (Rowe-mans), vet it is in the township of Charlemont. Hoosac Tunnel Station. located a half mile from the Eastern Portal on the left bank of the Deerfield, is within the borders of Rowe.

Hoosac Tunnel Station is also the southern terminus of the Hoosac Tunnel and Wilmington R. R. road was chartered in December 1886 and acquired the Massachusetts portion of the line of the Deerfield River Co., and leased the Vermont portion. On January 1, 1892 the Deerfield River Co., and the Deerfield Valley R. R. Co. were merged. The road in general follows the Deerfield River in a northerly direction to Wilmington, Vermont, a distance of 24 1/2 miles. The part in Massachusetts, some eight miles, is located entirely in Rowe, and there is a station at Monroe Bridge, about three miles from the Rowe postoffice. The original survey called for two other stations in Rowe, one to be called Heywood's, at the foot of the slope beneath Pulpit Rock, and one to be called Logan's, some two miles north of Hoosac Tunnel Station; but the traffic has never warranted their establishment. The guage was three feet prior to 1915 when at considerable expense it was changed to the standard measure of four feet, eight and one-half inches, thereby affording much greater facility in the handling of freight at Hoosac Tunnel.

One young fellow whose father owned a farm a short distance south of the present Baptist Church, desirous of attending a dance at the town hall and having no scruples against disobeying parental orders, walked to Zoar, rode by train to Hoosac Tunnel, thence by train to Monroe Bridge, and then walked up the hill to the Rowe town hall, — thus circumventing a distance of sixteen miles to reach his objective point which was a scant half-mile from home.

Intoxicating liquors at times have sapped the vitality of Rowe's economic progress. Rum had to be drunk on all occasions even when the meetinghouse frame was raised. Some men were repairing the roads and left a jug of rum on the wagon by the flat rock near the old centre, so that a mischievous boy consumed a large amount with fatal results. But liquor has not always been confined to public occasions; and it was with full recognition of this fact that William A. Hicks, having given bonds, was appointed by the selectmen in 1864 an "agent to purchase Intoxicating Liquors and to sell the same at his dwelling House in the town of Rowe to be used in the Arts or for Medicinal, Chemical and Mechanical Purposes and no other." He received a salary of \$15 for this service.

George Bennet is named as a blacksmith in 1781. Ebenezer Starr maintained a blacksmith shop a short distance southeast of the cross roads at the old centre, but with the flow of the tide to Factory Village or Slab City he moved his establishment down the hill. Peter

and Philo Sibley and the latter's son Joseph later conducted such a thriving business that there were three forges necessary; and it was nothing exceptional to shoe in one day 16 horses and eight, ten and even twelve yokes of oxen, besides turning the shoes and nails. Farmers drove in from Florida, Monroe, Readsboro, Whitingham and Heath. The last blacksmith, John Richards, left town in 1910. (Charles Newell in 1922 re-opened the shop.)

Today, accumulated wealth usually comprises investment securities (stocks and bonds), or rented real estate. One hundred years ago both these forms of investment were rare and the average young man when starting out in life, looked forward to the time when he could claim title to a large farm, consisting not alone of buildings and cattle, but of tilled acres. It was a comparatively simple matter to put up a house and barn, but it required years of effort to clear land and cultivate the soil. Witness the assessed valuation in 1835 of the Adams farm, one of the best in Rowe.

| 1 house | \$250 | |
|------------------------------|-------|---------|
| 315 acres of land | 2000 | |
| | | \$2250 |
| 2 oxen \$60 — 24 cows \$432 | | 492 |
| 20 sheep \$40 — 1 horse \$65 | | 105 |
| 4 swine \$16 | | 1.6 |
| | | \$ 2863 |

The land here is valued at nearly three-quarters of the total. This, then, is the key to the early economic situation, the answer to the question as to why our ancestors moved up to these rocky hills to take up large tracts of land.

A considerable amount of timber has been cut on the Rowe hills and the statement has been heard that there is more money in allowing pasture land to grow up to pine trees. A Massachusetts farmer some years ago sold to a man operating a portable saw-mill some white pine which cut a million board feet. Instead of receiving \$7000 which would have been a fair price (at \$7 per thousand at that time) he accepted \$1,200. In the future it is well to remember that advice can always be obtained from the State Forester at Boston.

The introduction of national prohibition apparently has permanently raised the price of apples, and there is no reason why Rowe farmers cannot reap good profits from apple raising. Sugar maples yield a bountiful supply of sap which can be profitably exported in the form of syrup and sugar.

Sheep husbandry was once a thriving industry in Rowe. With Boston the chief wool market of this country and with an increasing demand in the east for mutton, increased production might be expected. The dog menace has been ever-present, but can be minimized by co-operation. To be sure the severe winters necessitate extra provision for shelter and feed, but the winters are no severer than they were one hundred years ago.

In the United States on the average, in every three families one is devoted entirely to agriculture. The movement from the farms has been more or less general and not due so much to any local conditions; but a movement back to the land is necessary. After all, the city "cliff-dwellers" do not know half the pleasure of living.

Old Farmer's Almanack — 1795.

[&]quot;The winter affords many enjoyments to mankind in general, but to no one class of men more, than to the industrious husbandman, who now sets down at leisure surrounded by all the comforts and necessaries of life pleasingly spending the long winter's evenings in social converse as by reading some useful and entertaining author."

Appendix A.

The history of Monroe could well fill a small volume by itself and only a brief sketch can here be inserted. Daniel Canedy of Colrain is said to have been the first settler in that part of Rowe which lay west of the Deerfield. He brought his family about the year 1800, and was soon followed by Ebenezer Hayward, Samuel and Daniel Gore and three Ballou brothers, David, Benjamin and Nathan. David Ballou was the first of the brothers to take up land and we find his name in the seating of the meetinghouse in 1802. In 1804 we find David Ballou on the jury list for the "Inferior Court," but no mention is made of the Gores or Daniel Canedy. The latter died in 1826 at the age of 55 and Daniel Gore died in 1859 leaving a number of sons, — Hiram, Lowell, Moses, Asahel and Luther.

Difficulty of travel was experienced at an early date and in 1801 the inhabitants petitioned the town of Rowe to "set off the land that lies west of Deerfield in this Town to be annexed to a gore of land adjoining to it." The town acquiesced provided the General Court allowed it, but it was not to be just yet. In October 1803 the town voted "that the inhabitants of the Town west of Deerfield River, be exempt from paying their School and Highway Taxes and that they have the privilege of Schooling and working out their own money in their own neighborhood." From 1804 to 1822 a Ballou was on the school committee, David, Nathan, Stephen or Maturin, the sons of Nathan.

The petition in December 1820 to the General Court asking for incorporation recites that the part of Rowe west of the Deerfield River "is commonly impassable so as to cause the settlers in the west part to go around by the way of Readsboro and Whitingham, Vt. to get to the center of the town—and contains about 1500

acres and 14 families. The unincorporated part contains 4500 acres and 15 families." The round-about way referred to, undoubtedly was the road from the "four-corners" to South Readsboro, thence across the river near the present Sherman's, and up the road to Rowe from "Lime Hollow."

December 24, 1821, the town voted to allow the land west of the river to be set off, and February 21, 1822 the town of Monroe was incorporated, taking the name of President James Monroe.

Appendix B.

In 1832 Rev. Preserved Smith was assessed on the following property:—

| 1 House and Barn 25 Acres Land | $$150 \\ 450$ | \$600 | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1 Horse and colt 1 Cow | $\begin{array}{c} 42 \\ 20 \end{array}$ | | |
| Money at interest | 1200 | 1262 | |
| | | \$ 1862 | Tax — \$75.21! |

It would be interesting to know where he had his money at interest. Remember that his annual salary was but \$300.

The Census reports show the population of Rowe as follows:—

| 1790 — 443 | 1875 - 661 |
|------------|------------|
| 1800 — 575 | 1880 - 502 |
| 1810 — 839 | 1885 - 582 |
| 1820 — 851 | 1890 - 541 |
| 1830 — 716 | 1895 - 498 |
| 1840 — 703 | 1900 - 549 |
| 1850 — 659 | 1905 - 533 |
| 1855 - 601 | 1910 — 456 |
| 1860 — 619 | 1915 - 424 |
| 1865 - 563 | 1920 - 333 |
| 1870 — 581 | |

On Feb. 21, 1822 Monroe was incorporated and of course this resulted in a loss to Rowe. The population of Monroe in 1830 was 265; in 1840, 282; in 1850, 254; which if added to Rowe would show the largest aggregate between 1830 and 1850. The high mark for Heath was 1199 in 1830.

Appendix C.

A petition dated January 14, 1780 was sent to the General Court seeking a remission of the fine of £600. and for an abatement of taxes. The petition set forth that the town was utterly unable to raise the sums "repeatedly required" of it; that of the 10,000 acres in that plantation, only 7,000 were habitable, not a tenth part of which was under any kind of improvement; that ten years before (1770), there were but eight families in the place which was increased to 28 families when the war began, — most of which were so poor as to be unable to pay the small cost of lands to settle on: that those who had removed thither since the war began were such as had been reduced from comfortable livings, to the necessity of earning, by hard labor, on small tracts of wild land, the means of purchasing supplies to be brought from a distance. That the earlier settlers were just beginning to make improvements when the war broke out, and being, to a man, engaged in the popular cause, and more than ordinarily "exposed unto alarms," even in seedtime and harvest-time, they had been obliged to purchase more than half of their provisions, at a distance of from ten to thirty miles, at enormous prices, for which their improvements were not sufficient to yield them an equivalent; that, through all their adversities, they had "supported the gospel," which they could

not continue to do if their burdens should be increased: that, in respect to the fine of £600, they had sent only one of the two men required, because, though the rate was one man for 361/2 ratable polls, they (as they had not more than 48 polls at the time of the requisition) thought the sending of one man, a sufficient compliance; in which the superintendent, who accepted their man, concurred; that they had nothing to sell wherewith to procure money, - they being above one hundred miles from any market, and obliged to pay enormous prices for salt and other necessaries ("even the price of seven bushels of rye for a bushel of salt "); that, being a new plantation, they, within a few years had been obliged to build, through the woods, all the roads in the vicinity, and even roads to other adjoining places several miles distant, and to keep these roads in repair at their own expense, which required, annually the average labor of ten days per man; notwithstanding which, the country was so rugged that it required four good oxen, and at least the greater part of one day, "to convey half a ton of burthen, in our best road, for the distance of five or six miles from this place," and that by this means only could they transport such necessaries of life as they purchased at a distance. That they had been obliged to borrow money to pay the bounties and travel of soldiers, and to make good the depreciation of the currency, they having no money of their own.

This is an interesting picture of life in the old plantation days with all its hardships. It may be of interest to know that the General Court remitted the £600 fine and abated one third of the taxes. The "best road" was probably that between the meetinghouse and Charlemont which led over the mountain.

Appendix D.

FULHAM GRANT.

On June 11, 1772 the General Court passed the following resolutions,—

"that there be granted to Francis Fullam his Heirs and assigns five hundred acres of Land to be laid out in an unappropriated tract of Land in the western part of the Province adjoining to ten thousand acres granted to Cornelius Jones, called Merrifield, to satisfy his proportion of the Grant in his Petition mentioned, which he lost by the runing Newhampshire line, and that the Petitioner at his own cost cause the same to be laid out by skilful Surveyor and Chainmen under oath, and return a plan of the same to this Court for acceptance within twelve months."

The petition was made by Francis Fullam (Fulham) of Fitchburgh (Turkey Hills) "in lieu of his proportion of a Township formerly granted to the Soldiers under Command of Capt. John Lovewell, which fell into Newhampshire."

Beginning at the Southwest corner of "Jones's Grant," so-called

| W | $6^{\circ}N$ | 197 | \mathbf{rods} | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| \mathbf{S} | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{W}$ | 150 | 44 | |
| \mathbf{E} | $6^{\circ}S$ | 250 | " | |
| \mathbf{S} | $6^{\circ}W$ | 40 | " | · |
| \mathbf{E} | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{S}$ | 80 | " | |
| S | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{W}$ | 80 | " | |
| \mathbf{E} | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{S}$ | 100 | " | |
| N | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{E}$ | 270 | " | to south line of Jones's Grant |
| W | $6^{\circ}\mathrm{N}$ | 240 | " | on said line. |

The final ratification was made March 5, 1773.

Appendix E.

GREEN AND WALKER GRANT.

On December 8, 1741 the General Court granted a tract comprising 8575 acres "northwest of Deerfield," which today represents the greater part of the town of Heath, to Joseph Green, Isaac Walker, Byfield Lyde,

and John Green. In 1751, Joseph Green, Isaac Walker and Thomas Bulfinch, petitioned for another tract to comprise "6000 acres west of a tract of 8575 acres owned by them in order to compleat a Settlement they propose to make," but nothing ever came of it; and it was reserved for Cornelius Jones in 1762 to purchase these 6000 acres with 4000 more.

BULLOCK'S GRANT.

In April 1771 there was granted to William Bullock some six square miles comprising roughly the present town of Savoy and an irregular tract north of this which included a narrow strip in Florida adjoining the Bernardstown Grant on the east and including the Deerfield River at the Great Bend, with a few acres of Rowe, and in Monroe bordering the Bernardstown Grant on the north.

Appendix F.

An interesting document in the State Archives is the assessors' return of the Plantation of Myrifield for 1784, compiled by Henry Willson and Archibald Thomas, Assessors. They rated the property as follows,—

| Improved Lands | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Upland mowing | 40 shillings per acre |
| Meadow mowing | 20 " " " " |
| Pastering and tillage | 40 " " " |
| Unimproved Land | 6 shillings, 8 pence per acre |
| Unimprovable Land | 1 shilling per acre |
| Dwelling Houses | 6 pounds each |
| Barns | 4 " " |
| Mills | 5 " " |
| Horses | 6 " " |
| Oxen | 8 " " |
| Cows | 8 " " 3 |
| 2 year olds | 2 " " |
| 1 year old | 1 " " |
| Sheep | 3 shillings each |
| Swine | 20 " " |
| | |

There were but nine dwelling houses and the assessors stated that the "Remainder are Loghuts—which in the year 1780 were valued at 20/ each, since which they are so crumbled Down, that they have been not Rated since."

The return shows 88 polls, of which number 77 were "rateable," nine dwelling houses, 18 barns, two mills, 93 acres of "tillage of land," 74 acres of "English and Upland mowing", 210 acres of Fresh-meadow and newly-cleared mowing land, 206 acres of pasturage, 5679 acres of unimproved and 3724 acres of unimprovable land, 38 horses, 3 two-year old colts, 3 one-year old colts, 44 oxen, 27 neat cattle three-years old, 46 two-years old, and 74 one-year old, 89 cows four years old or more, 230 sheep, and 98 swine.

Following are the names of the tax-payers in 1784, the year before incorporation.

Moses Streeter Nath¹ Goodspeed Ebenr Ingersol Eldad Corbet Jonathan Marsh Abner Chapin Joseph Steel Archld Thomas Joseph Thomas Nathan Wheeler Ambrose Potter Darius Barr Daniel McCoon Nathan Foster John Hibbert Shubael Nash John McNitt Jonas Gleason Consider Brown Noah Brown Richard Mason Daniel McAllester Ephraim Hill

Benj. Shumway Isaac Lankton Isaac W. Clarv Jude Foster Matthew Barr Obed Foote Humphrey Taylor Stephen Gleason Michael Willson Isaac Cummings Henry Willson Nathⁱ Corbet Moses Rogers John Adams Mr. Jones Eli Towne Phebe Howard, Guardⁿ Henry Willson, Jun'r Paul Thaver Amos Gleason William Taylor Oliver Wilder Nathan Wood

Aaron Gleason, Junr Henry Gleason Aaron Gleason Jonathan Gleason Gideon Chapin Ellet Makepeace Gad Chapin Shadrach Chapin Charles Handy David Barr Daniel Gleason Standish Foster Richard Ingersol Joseph Nash William Steel Jonathan White
Nathanl Merril
Benj. Brown
Eli Colton
James Merril
Nathl Merril Junr
David Weer
William Weer
Timothy Knowlton
Asa Foster
Asa Gleason
Stephen Brown
Joel Hill
Zenas Nash
Warren Willson

The Direct Tax made by the State in October 1798, (the original is in the library of the N. E. Historic & Genealogical Society) shows that Rowe then had 31 dwelling houses, which figure compares with nine in 1780.

